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Miscellanea Scotica.

A

COLLECTION

OF

TRACTS

RELATING TO THE

History, Antiquities, Topography,

AND

LITERATURE

OF

SCOTLAND.

VOL. IV.

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1820.

MEMOIRS

CONCERNING

The Ancient Alliance

BETWEEN THE

FRENCH AND SCOTS,

AND

The Privileges of the Scots in France.

FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED

FROM THE

Original Records of the Kingdom of France.

By Mr. THOMAS MONCRIEFF.

EDINBURGH:

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MEMOIRS

CONCERNING

THE ANCIENT ALLIANCE

BETWEEN THE

FRENCH AND SCOTS,

AND THE

PRIVILEGES

OF

THE SCOTS IN FRANCE.

AS the privileges of the Scots in France are a consequence of the union and alliance which subsisted so many ages between the two crowns, it is necessary, in the first place, to treat what regards that alliance, in order to come afterwards to the privileges granted by the Kings of France to the Scots.

CHAP. I.

THE ALLIANCE OF FRANCE AND SCOTLAND.

It is the general opinion of all the Scottish historians, that the alliance of the French and Scots is

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testimony whereof, we command our seal to be appended to these presents. Given at Dundee on the twentieth day of April, in the year of grace one thousand three hundred twenty-five, and in the twentieth year of our reign.]

And, to the end that this thing may be firm and stable in all time coming, we have caused our seal to be affixed to these presents. Given at Courbeny, in the year of grace one thousand three hundred and twenty-six, in the month of April.

Renewal of the alliance of France and Scotland, between Charles, Dauphin of France, (King John his father being prisoner in England,) and David II. King of Scotland, at Paris, June 29, 1359. *

Renewal of the said alliance between the Kings Charles V. of France, and Robert II. of Scotland, at Vincennes, June 3, 1371. †

Renewal of the said alliance between Charles VI. King of France, and Robert III. King of Scotland, March 3, 1390. ‡

Renewal of the said alliance between the said Charles VI. King of France, and Robert Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland during the captivity of King James I. in 1407.

Renewal of the said alliance between Charles VII. King of France, and Murdoch Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, in 1423. §

Renewal of the said alliance between Charles VII. King of France, and James I. King of Scotland, in 1428. ‖

---

* Du Tillet's collection of treaties, p. 80.—† p. 98.—‡ p. 116.—§ p. 137.—‖ p. 135.

Renewal of the said alliance between the same Charles VII. King of France, and James II. King of Scotland, in 1448. *

Renewal of the said alliance between Charles VIII. King of France, and James IV. King of Scotland, in 1491. †

Renewal of the said alliance between Lewis XII. King of France, and the same James IV. King of Scotland, in 1512. ‡

Renewal of the said alliance between Francis I. King of France, and James V. King of Scotland, in 1515. §

Renewal of the said alliance between Francis I. King of France and Mary Queen of Scotland, in 1548. ‖

This same alliance was again renewed between Henry II. King of France, and Mary Queen of Scotland, and between the succeeding Kings.

To strengthen these alliances by stricter ties, the royal families of France and Scotland have been several times united by marriage.

The contracts are extant of the following.

Contract of marriage between Edward Baliol, son and heir to John King of Scotland, and Joan daughter to Charles de Valois, brother of King Philip the Fair, in 1235. ¶

Contract of marriage between Lewis Dauphin of France, afterwards Lewis XI. and Margaret daughter to James I. King of Scotland, in 1436. **

---

* P. 140.—† p. 149.—‡ Collection of the treaties of France and Scotland.—§ Du Tillet's collection, p. 164.—‖ Collection of treaties between France and Scotland.—¶ Rymer, fœd. Angl. tom. 2, p. 697, and 698.—** Du Tillet's col. p. 137.

Contract of marriage between James V. King of Scotland, and Magdalen daughter to King Francis I. in 1536.

Contract * of marriage between Francis Dauphin, afterwards Francis II. King of France, and Mary Queen heiress of Scotland, in 1558. †

CHAP. II.

SERVICES DONE TO FRANCE BY THE SCOTS.

ONE of the principal effects of this ancient alliance was the mutual succour which the two nations engaged to give each other against the English their common enemy; and it was in consequence of this engagement that the Scots rendered so great services to France, especially in the fourteenth century, whither by sending the flower of their bravest men into France, to succour its inhabitants against the English, almost masters of the kingdom, or by attacking England with all their force, on the side of Scotland, as oft as the English passed the sea to attack France.

In 1346, after the fatal battle of Crecy, (or Cressi,) in order to check the victorious English, to prevent their pushing their conquests in France, and to make a diversion there, David II. King of Scotland, attacked England, and ravaged all the north of it, where, losing a bloody battle, he was defeated and taken, and, after ten years captivity, obliged to find a ransom. ‡

* Printed by Leonard.—† Mem. Scot. tom. I, p. 37. —‡ Froissard.

This did not hinder the kings his successors from continuing to attack England, in order to stop the irruptions of the English into France. But it was chiefly at the time when the French monarchy, within a hairbreadth of its overthrow, when the English, through the weakness of King Charles VI. and the help of the Burgundians, were masters of almost the whole kingdom, and when their Henry VI. was crowned at Paris King of France; it was, I say, chiefly in this extremity, that the Scots sent, time after time, of their first nobility, with the flower of the troops of Scotland, to support the just right of the Dauphin of France, sole lawful heir of the crown, but then proscribed and abandoned by the greater part of his French subjects, and by almost all the other allies of the crown.

For, in 1420, Robert Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, sent to the Dauphin's assistance John Earl of Buchan, his son, with Archibald Douglas Earl of Wigtoun, John Stewart of Darnly, and other nobility, at the head of a considerable body of troops, by whose aid the English were defeated at Beauge, in a bloody battle, where the Earl of Clarence, brother to the King of England, the Earl of Kent, and a great number of the English nobility were killed, and many others made prisoners. *

In the year 1422, the Earl of Douglas, at the head of a new reinforcement of five thousand Scots, arrived in France to the aid of the Dauphin, ac-

* Hist. D'Alait. chart. p. 49. David Cham. 177. Tillet's Treaties of France and England, p. 126.

knowledged King, since the death of his father, by the name of Charles VII. and after most of his troops had been cut off in the battle of Devreuil. *

In 1424, their came again fresh troops from Scotland to the succour of Charles VII. under the command of Robert Petilloch, (or perhaps Pattulloh,) a great captain in those days. †

In 1428, the same King Charles VII. pressed on all sides by the English and other enemies of the French monarchy, sent, to seek new aid of King James I. of Scotland, the Archbishop of Rheims, with John Stewart of Aubigny, and to ask in marriage the Princess Margaret, King James's eldest daughter, for his son Lewis, Dauphin of France. All was granted him; the ancient alliances were renewed, and the Lord of Aubigny repassed into France with fresh troops. But the Princess being yet too young, as well as the Dauphin, she went to France only in 1436, well attended by nobility and reinforcements.

In fine, King Lewis XII. in his letters-patents ‡ of the privileges of the Scots in France, extols the service which the Scots did in the expulsion of the English, in these terms. "Lastly, and in the lifetime of our late most dear lord and cousin King Charles VII. (whom God absolve,) several princes of the said kingdom of Scotland, with a great number of people of the said nation, came over to help to cast and expel forth of this kingdom, the English, who held and occupied most part of the realm, and

* Al. chart. hist. of Charles VII. p. 85. David Cham. p. 177. —† Da. Cham. p. 178.—‡ See these letters in the sequel.

so valorously exposed their persons against the said English, that these were driven out, and the said realm restored to his obedience, &c." And, after the reduction of France to the obedience of its lawful sovereign, the Scots continued to send succours into France, and to attack England, in order to make a diversion, as often as the kings of France should require it; besides that, there were some of the best families of Scotland destined solely to the service of France. Thus we see the lords of Aubigny, Stewart, John, Robert, Bernard, (called also Berald,) and others of that family, in the service of France, under Charles VIII. Lewis XII. and in the following reigns; especially in the wars of Italy, where they distinguished themselves at the battle of Fornova, and in the kingdom of Naples.

In 1507, by the relation of Claud Seysil, Archbishop of Turin, a contemporary author, King James IV. on occasion of the wars of King Lewis XII. in Italy, sent to him, and offered to come in person to serve him with ten or twenty thousand fighting men.* And the same King James, in 1513, having learned that France was attacked by the Emperor and the King of England conjunctly, in order to make a diversion, (as the same King Lewis XII. observes, †) attacked on his side England with all his force, though King Henry VIII. was his brother-in-law, and obliged him to send back part of his troops into England; whereupon fol-

* Seysil. hist. of Lewis XII. p. 142.—† In his let. pat. as after.

lowed the fatal battle of Flowden between the English and Scots, in which King James lost his life, with the flower of the Scots, solely in the quarrel of France.

Lastly, in 1548, the preference which the Scots made of the alliance of France to that of England, for the marriage of the young Queen Mary, heiress of Scotland, involved that kingdom in a war of about twenty years with England, which was followed by an infinity of mischiefs, and ended at last in the ruin of the Roman catholic religion in Scotland.

CHAP. III.

REWARDS OF SERVICES GRANTED BY THE KINGS OF FRANCE TO THE SCOTS.

IT was by reason of the ancient alliances between the two kingdoms, and as it were in compensation of the services done to France, and of the losses in consequence sustained by the Scots, that the kings of France behaved to the Scots as if they had been their own native subjects. 1. To particular persons, by promoting or admitting them to all manner of dignities, honours, and offices, military, civil, and ecclesiastical. 2. By commiting to the Scots the guard of their own royal persons with singular prerogatives. 3. By granting to all Scots, in general, letters of naturalization, and regarding them as real denizens of their kingdom. 4. By granting particular exemptions of duties to all the Scottish merchants in France.

Section First.

DIGNITIES, OFFICES, HONOURS, AND LANDS, CONFERRED UPON THE SCOTS IN FRANCE.

In 1422, John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, was made Constable of France, after the battle of Beauge, by King Charles VII. and lost his life in his service at the battle of Verneuil. *

In 1423, Archibald Earl of Douglas was created Duke of Tourain by the same king, and sacrificed his life in the same battle. †

In 1424, the same king gratified John Stewart of Darnly, Constable of the Scots in France, with the lordship of Aubigny, ‡ which continued down to our days, in his descendants dukes of Lennox, until the very extinction of the family. Charles VII. gave him also the county of Dreux, and made him a Marshal of France. § His descendants lords of Aubigny, John and Bernard, (known by the name of Berald,) merited like honours by their services, and the lords of that family were in a manner hereditary captains of the Scots guards. ‖

In 1428, Charles VII. gave to James I. King of Scotland, the county of Xaintonge and Rochfort in peerage. ¶

About the same time the same king made the Laird of Monypenny his chamberlain, and gave him the lordship of Concressant.

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* Al. Chart. hist. of Charles VII. p. 53.—† p. 59. Du Till. coll. p. 135.—‡ Ibid.—§ p. 137.—‖ Hist. of Charles VIII. edit. Godfrey, p. 384, 385.—¶ Du Till. coll. p. 137.

In 1495, the Lord of Aubigny was made Governor of Calabria by King Charles VIII. *

In 1524, John Stewart Duke of Albany, had a seat in the parliament of Paris, by command of Francis I. before the dukes and peers. † He was appointed Viceroy of Naples, General of the galleys of France, and Governor of the Bourbonese, of Auvergne, and of other provinces. ‡

About the same time, Robert Stewart of Aubigny, was made a Marshal of France.

In 1548, King Henry I. gave the duchy of Chatelherault to James Hamilton Earl of Arran, Regent of Scotland, and presented him with the collar of his order, which that king sent also to the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, and Angus. §

With regard to offices, the Scots have exercised some of the most considerable in France. || Mr. Servien, a famous advocate under Henry III. in his pleading before the parliament of Paris, relates that Mr. Turnbull, a Scotsman, was a judge in the same parliament, and afterwards first president of the parliament of Rouen: Adam Blackwood was a judge on the bench of Poitiers, and others in courts of justice.

The Scots have also possessed in France some of the first dignities of the church. Andrew Foreman was Archbishop of Bourges, David Bethune, Bishop of Mirepoix, David Panter, (or perhaps Panton,) and after him James Bethune Bishop of

---

* Daniel's hist. of France, Lond. edit. 2d. p. 134.—† Baluze hist. de la tour d' Auvergne, vol. ii. p. 688.—‡ Same hist. vol. i. p. 353, 354, &c.—§ Tit. du duché de Chat. p. 1, 3. 2d. edit. p. 10.—|| Serv. plead. printed in 1586, p. 21.

Glasgow, were successively Abbots of L'Absie, besides a great number of priors, canons, curates, and other beneficed persons in France. And it is remarkable, that, in the year 1586, the cure of St. Côme at Paris, conferred by the university upon John Hamilton, having been disputed him by a French ecclesiastic, who protested against Hamilton as being a Scotsman, Hamilton's cause was pleaded, in the parliament of Paris, by Mr. Servien advocate in parliament, who proved that the Scots enjoyed the right of denizens, and in consequence, by decree of the court, the provisional possession of the cure was adjudged to Hamilton. *

And, in the university of Paris, the Scots made formerly so considerable a figure, that one of the four nations, of whom the faculty of arts is composed, which is now called the German nation, was formerly styled "natio Germanorum et Scotorum;" and besides a great number of doctors and professors in all the faculties, we find still, upon the records of the university, that there have been thirty rectors of the university all Scotsmen, in times when the office of rector was much more considerable, both in church and state, than it is at present.

Section Second.

OF THE SCOTS GUARDS.

Nothing shows better the consideration which the kings of France had for the Scots, and the entire confidence they placed in their fidelity, than

* Serv. plead. 1586.

the choice they made of them for the guard of their sacred persons.

With regard to the establishment of the Scots guards, Scottish writers refer its beginning to the reign of St. Lewis, others to King Charles V. But it is allowed that it was King Charles VII. who gave them the form in which they have since preserved themselves. King Lewis XII. in his letters-patents * of naturalization to the Scots, speaks of this establishment in the following manner: after having set forth, in terms the most honourable to the nation, the service which the Scots did to King Charles VII. in the expulsion of the English out of France, and in the reduction of the kingdom to his obedience, he adds, "Since which reduction, and for the service the Scots rendered to Charles VII. upon that occasion, for the great loyalty and virtue which he found in them, he selected two hundred of them for the guard of his person, of whom he made an hundred men at arms, and an hundred lifeguards. And the said hundred men at arms are the hundred lances of our ancient ordinances; and the lifeguard-men are those of our guard, who still are near and about our person."

With respect to the fidelity of the Scots in that honourable post, take here the testimony bore them by Claud Seysil, Master of Requests to the same Lewis XII. and afterwards Archbishop of Turin, in his history of that prince where speaking of Scotland, he says, "The French have so ancient a friendship and alliance with the Scots, that, of four

* Which see after.

hundred men appropriated for the king's lifeguard, there are an hundred of the said nation who are the nearest to his person, and in the night keep the keys of the apartment where he sleeps. There are, moreover, an hundred complete lances, and two hundred yeomen of the said nation, beside several that are dispersed through the companies: and for so long a time as they have served in France, never hath there been one of them found that hath committed or done any fault against the kings or their state; and they can make use of them as of their own subjects."

The ancient rights and prerogatives of the Scottish lifeguards were very honourable. Here follows the description which those same Scots guards give of the functions and prerogatives of their company, and especially of the 24 first guards; to whom the first Gendarme of France being added, they make up the number of 25, commonly called "Gardes de Manche," sleeve-guards, who were all Scots by nation.

Two of them assisting at mass, sermon, vespers, and ordinary meals; on high holidays at the ceremony of the royal touch, and the erection of knights of the king's order, at the reception of extraordinary ambassadors, and public entries of cities, there must be six of their number next to the king's person, three on each side of his majesty; and the body of the king must be carried by these only, wheresoever ceremony requires, and his effigy must be attended by them. They have the keeping of the keys of the king's lodging at night, the keeping of the choir of the church, the keeping of

the boats when the king passes the rivers, the honour of bearing the white silk fringe in their arms, which is the coronal colour in France; the keys of all the cities where the king makes his entry given to their captain in waiting or out of waiting. He has the privilege in waiting, or out of waiting, at ceremonies, such as coronations, marriages, funerals of the kings, baptisms and marriages of their children, to take duty upon him; the coronation-robe belongs to him; and this company by the death or change of a captain, never changes its rank, as do the three others.

This company was heretofore wholly composed of Scotsmen. But as, in the reign of Henry II. several French, or others than Scots, had been admitted there, as well as among the Scots Gendarmes, that prince, at the solicitation of the deputies of the states of Scotland, gave a breviate, of which the original is extant, signed by the king's own hand, bearing date June 28, 1558, whereby his majesty promises that he shall not allow any person to enter there, who is not a gentleman of the said nation of Scotland, and sprung from a good family, &c. *

This regulation did not hinder afterwards others than Scots from being sometimes admitted, as appears by the remonstrances made upon that subject, from time to time, by the queen-mother, and her son James VI. and by the privy council of Scotland, in the roll of the year 1599, given in by the captain of the Scots guards to the chamber of accounts. Three fourths of the yeomen, as well of the body as of the sleeve, were still, however, Scots.

* Mem. Scot. tom. 1, p. 78.

It was but afterwards, and by degrees, that this company became filled with French, to the exclusion of Scotsmen: so that at last there remained no more than the name, and the answer, when called, *I am* HERE.

Section Third.

LETTERS OF NATURALIZATION FOR ALL SCOTSMEN GRANTED OR CONFIRMED BY THE KINGS OF FRANCE.

The first letters known of naturalization to the Scots, were granted by King Lewis XII. at the instance of Andrew Foreman, Bishop of Moray in Scotland, and Archbishop of Bourges. They were given at Amiens in the month of September, 1513. A copy will be found in the sequel.

In 1547, Henry II. granted letters of naturalization to the Scots guards in particular, given at Fontainebleau in the month of November, 1548, at the exchequer-chamber, on the 12th of February.

The same King Henry II. granted new letters-patents of naturalization for all Scotsmen, at the instance of James Bethune, Archbishop of Glasgow, and other deputies of the states of Scotland, for the marriage of Queen Mary and the Dauphin. The letters are given at Villiers-couterets, in June, 1558, registered, with some modifications, in the parliament of Paris July the 11th, at the exchequer-chamber the 13th of July, and in the grand council the 19th of the said month of July. The copy here afterwards inserted, was made from an authentic duplicate signed by the hand of Mr Du Tillet,

clerk of parliament. The charter is also printed in the Scots acts of parliament.

King Henry IV. confirmed, at the instance of the same James Bethune, Archbishop of Glasgow, ambassador from Scotland, the right of naturalization to all Scots, by his letters-patents, given at Fontainebleau in the month of March, 1599, registered in the parliament of Paris, with some modifications, the 31st of July, in the said year. The copy, to be found in the sequel, is done from a copy collated before notaries.

In 1612, the same privileges were confirmed to the Scots by King Lewis XIII. in his letters-patents, given at Paris in the month of October, 1612, registered in parliament, with some modifications, December 15th, and in the treasury-books the 20th of the said month.

The copy we shall afterwards give is taken from a copy collated before notaries.

It appears also by an act of Lewis XIV.'s council of state, that his majesty had confirmed the ancient privileges of the Scots since his accession to the crown, and, in consequence, he discharged them of the taxes imposed upon foreigners.

This act was issued, at Fontainebleau, the 19th of September, 1646. A copy of it will be found in the sequel.

Section Fourth.

LETTERS-PATENTS CONTAINING THE PRIVILEGES OF THE SCOTTISH MERCHANTS TRADING IN FRANCE, GRANTED OR CONFIRMED BY THE KINGS OF FRANCE, AND OF WHICH THE COPIES ARE IN THE SEQUEL.

1. Letters-patents of King Francis I. containing the privileges of the Scottish merchants, given at Amboise in the month of May, 1518.

2. Letters-patents of King Henry II. to confirm the same privileges, given at Paris the 3d of February, 1554.

Confirmation of the privileges by King Henry IV. in his letters-patents given at Fontainebleau in the month of March, 1599. This copy is done from a copy collated with the original in parchment.

Letters of general naturalization for the whole Scottish nation in France, by King Lewis XII. in 1513.

LEWIS, by the grace of God, King of France, Be it known to all present and to come, that as, in all time and antiquity, between the kings of France and Scotland, and the princes and subjects of the two kingdoms, a most strict friendship, confederacy, and perpetual alliance, have subsisted and by these are both the kings bound to succour each other, towards and against all, and so against their ancient enemies the English, which they have done several times; and, latterly, during the life our late most dear lord and cousin King Charles VII. (whom God absolve,) several princes of the

said kingdom of Scotland, with a great number of the said nation, came over to help to cast and expel forth of the kingdom the English, who held and occupied great part thereof; which friends exposed their persons so valourously against the English, that they were driven out, and the said kingdom reduced unto his obedience; since which reduction, and for the service they did him upon that occasion, the great loyalty and virtue he found in them, he selected two hundred of them for the guard of his person, of whom he made an hundred men at arms, and an hundred lifeguard-men; and the said hundred men at arms are the hundred lances ofour ancient ordinances; and the lifeguard-men are those of our guard, who still are near and about our person. And forasmuch as our beloved and trusty counsellor the Archbishop of Bourges, Bishop of Moray, now ambassador with us, from our most dear and most beloved brother, cousin, and ally, the King of Scotland still reigning, and our beloved and trusty counsellor and chamberlain, Sir Robert Stewart Lord of Aubigny, Captain of our Scottish guard, and of the hundred lances of our said ancient ordinances of the said nation, have remonstrated to us how much it hath been always desired, that the Scots, when called to our said kingdom of France, and our subjects who might go to live in that of Scotland, or might decease there, on the account of trade or otherwise, should be enabled to testate and dispose of their effects to their respective heirs, and so indeed hath this been hitherto observed in the said kingdom of Scotland: as to our subjects, however, those of

the said nation of Scotland are obliged, as well such as are in our service of our said guard, as men at arms, and others whatsoever of that nation who are on this side, to take out particular letters of naturalization, and leave to testate and dispose of their effects, which they must have verified in our exchequer-chamber at Paris, by our commissioners of the treasury of France, and other our officers, with great pain and labour, otherwise their wives, children, or heirs, would be frustrated of their effects, and we make gifts of them as of foreign property, to their great grievance, prejudice, and damage: requiring us, by the said ambassadors and the Sieur d'Aubigny, that having this in regard, as well as the perpetual fellowship, confederacy, and alliance, between us and the said king of Scotland, our kingdoms and subjects, which hath been lately confirmed and sworn, our pleasure may be to grant general letters to all those of the said nation, and thereby to declare, that we hold, deem, and repute them in all things as true and original natives of our said kingdom, and fully impowered to testate and dispose of their effects; as also that, in case of their dying intestate, their children and other heirs may succeed them, and be enabled to hold all estates, offices, benefices, as any others in our said kingdom, and hereupon to impart unto them our grace.

Whereby we, the abovesaid things considered, and the good and indissoluble fellowship, confederacy and perpetual alliance which hath always subsisted, and doth still subsist between us and the said kings of Scotland, our respective kingdoms

and subjects, inviolably to be kept and observed, having regard to the signal services which the said kings of Scotland have heretofore done to our said predecessors, in the expulsion of our said enemies, to the great loyalty and fidelity which hath been always and invariably found in them, and those of their said nation, towards us, and particularly to the most signal, laudable and commendable service which our said good brother, cousin and ally, the present king of Scotland, is actually doing us, as it is notorious, that, in pursuance of our said friendship, fellowship, confederacy and alliance, he hath voluntarily declared for us against the king of England his brother-in-law, who is at present in our said kingdom; and, moreover, hath sent us succours and arms by sea, of great numbers of ships and men of war, which is so timely a service, as well requires that his subjects be for ever recommended and favoured in our said kingdom. For these, and other just and reasonable causes thereunto us moving, we have resolved to declare and ordain, and, by the tenor of these presents, do will, declare, ordain, and please, from our own knowledge, proper motion, special grace, full power and royal authority, that henceforth, perpetually, and for ever, all those of the said kingdom of Scotland, who shall reside, or come to reside, and shall hereafter decease in our said kingdoms, countries and seignories, of what station soever they be, or supposing they should be neither residents nor inhabitants in our said kingdom, countries and seignories, they shall be capable of acquiring therein all estates, seignories and possessions which they

may lawfully acquire; and of them, together with those which they may have already acquired, to testate and dispose, by testament and order of latter-will, living donation, or otherwise, at their will and pleasure; and that their wives and children, if they have any, or other their heirs, in what place soever they be residing, whether in our kingdom, or elsewhere, may, by testament or otherwise, take and inherit their estates and successions, as if they were natives of our said kingdom: and to those of the said nation, disposed to the church, shall be open all benefices and dignities secular or regular, with which they may be justly and canonically invested, by titles, collations, or provisions, (not derogating from the holy decrees of Basle, the pragmatic sanction, and the privileges of the Gallician church,) and they shall, in like manner, be able to dispose of their said property, as said is; and that in all things those of the said nation be treated, favoured, held, deemed, and reputed, for ever, as true originals of our said kingdom: and to this end we have enabled, and do enable them, we have dispensed, and do dispense our grace, by these said presents, and that without their being obliged, for the abovesaid things, either now or hereafter, to take out particular letters of naturalization, and leave to testate, other than these presents, nor therefore to pay us any finances, which finances we have given and discharged, and do give and discharge them of our said grace, by these said presents signed under our hand, to whatever value they do or may amount: provided always that the said king of Scotland, and his suc-

cessors, shall grant and allow such and like privileges to our subjects in their said kingdom. And that this they may enjoy in form and manner as above, we do therefore give command, by these same presents, to our beloved and trusty the members of our courts of parliament at Paris, bailiffs, seneschals, and provosts of our kingdom, and to all our other justiciaries and officers, and to their substitutes, present and to come, to each and every one of them, that our present graces, privileges, ordinances, edicts, declarations and vouchsafement, they cause, suffer, and allow, those of the said nation of Scotland, plenarily and peaceably, as aforesaid, to enjoy and use; ceasing, or causing to cease all lets and hinderances that may be made, given or offered to the contrary whatsoever. For such is our pleasure. Notwithstanding that the said finances of the said letters of naturalization are not here declared, let no discharge be levied by the cashier of our treasury, any ordinances, restrictions, commands or prohibitions whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. And whereas there may be occasion for these presents in divers and several places, it is our will, that, upon sight thereof, under the seal royal, credit be given as to this present original; whereunto, that it may be a deed sure and stable for ever, we have caused our seal to be affixed, saving in all else our right, and that of others in all. Given at Amiens, in the month September, of the year one thousand five hundred and thirteen, and of our reign the thirteenth. Signed Lewis. And upon the fold, by the king, the Cardinal de Prie, the Bishop of Paris, Mr. Pierre de

la Vernade master of the ordinary requests * of the household, and by others present. Signed Gedoyn, and sealed with a great seal of green wax, pendant to a string of red and green silk.

Letters-patents of King Henry II. containing the privileges of the Scots in France, in the year 1558.

HENRY, by the grace of God, King of France, unto all present and to come, greeting.

Whereas, since the marriage heretofore proposed between our most dear and most beloved son the King Dauphin, and our most dear and most beloved daughter the Queen of Scotland Dauphiness, his consort, contracted, concluded, and confirmed, the deputies of the states of the said kingdom have, for and in the name of the said states, taken to our said son the oath of fidelity, as to their true and natural lord, which he is; in virtue whereof, being subjects of both kingdoms, (which have hitherto, and of a long time, cultivated a social communication, lived in mutual friendship and intelligence, favoured and assisted each other) by the union of the houses of France and Scotland, so closely connected that we esteem them as one and the same, and desire, for this cause, the better to establish, entertain, and invigorate this friendship between our said subjects, and those of the said kingdom of Scotland, and to give the said inhabitants of the latter kingdom the more opportunity of visiting their king and queen, when they

* Answering nearly to the English court of Greencloth.

shall be on this side, of residing near them, attending and serving them, as to good and faithful subjects belongs, to indulge and favour them with the graces and privileges which our own proper subjects enjoy: be it known that we, these things considered, and for several other great and reasonable causes thereunto us moving, have to all the inhabitants of the said kingdom of Scotland, subjects of our said son the King Dauphin, and of our said daughter his consort, permitted, granted, and vouchsafed, and do, by these presents, permit, grant, and vouchsafe, that they may at their ease, as oft as to them shall seem good, come, inhabit, and abide in this our kingdom, and therein accept, hold, and possess all and every the benefices, dignities, and offices ecclesiastical, with which they may be justly and canonically invested by due title, not derogating from the holy decrees, concordates, privileges, franchises, and liberties of the Gallican church, and thereof to take and seize possession and enjoyment, and to reap and receive the fruits, profits, and revenues, unto what sum soever they do or may amount: and, moreover, to acquire in this kingdom, country, lands, and seignories in our allegiance, all and every of the estates, moveable and immoveable, which they shall see meet, to have and to hold them, together with such as may devolve, redound, and belong to them, whether by succession, donation, or otherwise, and to order and dispose of them by testament, settlement of latter will, living donation, or in what other manner soever. And that their heirs, or others to whom they shall have disposed of them,

may be able to succeed to them, to take and seize possession and enjoyment of their said estates, just as they would and might do if they were originally natives of our said kingdom and country, without our solicitor-general, or other our officers having power henceforth to claim the estates as acquired to us by right of escheat, or the subjects of the said kingdom of Scotland, being in the enjoyment of those estates, brought to any molestation or trouble. And to all, as above, we have capacitated and dispensed, and do, by these presents, capacitate and dispense them, whether they have habituated in our said kingdom, country, lands, and seignories of our obedience, or in the said kingdom of Scotland, without their being bound on account thereof to pay unto us, or our successors, any finance or indemnity whatever; wherefrom, unto what sum, value, and estimation soever it doth or may amount, we have, in consideration of the above, acquitted and discharged, and do hereby acquit and discharge them, and thereof, in favour of our said daughter, have made, and do make a gift, by these presents under our hand; upon condition, that if, by reason of the said benefices, any law-suit should be raised, they shall cause none of our subjects to be brought or convened, except before such of our judges unto whom the cognisance shall belong. We do therefore give in command, by these same presents, unto our beloved and trusty the persons holding our courts of parliament, great council and exchequer at Paris, and to all those our bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, and other our justiciaries, or

their deputies, present and to come, and to every one whom it may concern, that our present grace, leave, licence, and permission, and all contained in these said presents, they make, suffer, and allow the said subjects and inhabitants of the said kingdom of Scotland, plenarily and peaceably to enjoy and use; ceasing and causing to cease all lets and hindrances to the contrary whatsoever. *For such is our pleasure.* Notwithstanding that the value of the said finance is here neither specified nor declared, that such gifts we have been wont to make only for the half or third of the regulations by us or our predecessors made in the order and distribution of our finances, and even that of the month of December last, wherein it is said, that all gifts, benefits, and rewards shall be paid by the treasurer of our exchequer; from which we have, by our full power and royal authority, derogated, and do derogate, and in the derogatories, by these presents, do abide, what other ordinances, restrictions, commands, and prohibitions soever to the contrary notwithstanding. And, forasmuch as there may be occasion for these presents in divers and several places, we will, that, upon sight thereof made under the seal royal, or duly collated by one of our beloved and trusty notaries and secretaries, credit be given as the present original; whereunto, that it may be a deed firm and stable for ever, we have caused our seal to be put and annexed; saving in all else our right, and that of others in all. Given at Villiers-cotterets in the month of June of the year of grace one thousand

five hundred fifty-eight, and of our reign the twelfth.

Extract of the registers of the parliament of Paris.

The court having seen the king's letters-patents, in form of charter, given at Villiers-cotterets in the month of June last past, subscribed by the hand of the said lord, and on the fold by the king de l'Aubespine; for the which, and the causes therein contained, the said lord vouchsafes, permits, and grants unto all the inhabitants of the said kingdom of Scotland, subjects of the King, Dauphin of France, son to the said lord the king, and of the Queen of Scotland, Dauphiness his consort, that they may with full liberty inhabit, come, reside, and remain in this kingdom, and therein hold and possess benefices and offices ecclesiastical, and there acquire whatever estates, moveable and immoveable, they shall see meet, as if they were originally natives of this kingdom, as is more fully set forth, in the said letters of the decree of the said court, communicated to the king's solicitor-general; his conclusions thereupon, and every thing considered, the said court hath ordained, and doth ordain, that the said letters-patents shall be read, published, recorded in the registers of this court, in order for the patentees to enjoy the effect hereof, so long as the kingdom shall be in the obedience, confederacy, and friendship of the king; provided always that the subjects of this kingdom shall be capable, as such, of enjoying like rights, privileges, goods, lands, and possessions, and of holding benefices and dignities

in the kingdom of Scotland. Done in parliament the eleventh day of July, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-eight. "Lecta, similiter publicata et registrata in camera compulorum domini nostri regis, audito procuratore generali prout in registro, 13tii Julii anno suprascripto." Signed Le Maitre.

Read, published, and recorded in the register of the king's great council, the solicitor-general of the said lord, requiring it under the modifications contained in the register, and with the proviso, that the draught be renewed by those who shall be willing to avail themselves of the grant contained in these presents. Done at Paris, in council, the nineteenth of July, one thousand five hundred and fifty-eight. Signed Faure.

In consequence of these letters-patents, and this act of registration, the three estates of Scotland in parliament, assembled, in the month of November 1558, passed an act for naturalizing and granting the same privileges to all the French in Scotland; and a copy of those letters-patents was registered in the acts of the parliament of Scotland.

Letters-patents of King Henry IV. bearing confirmation of the privileges of the Scots in France, in the year 1599.

HENRY, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, unto all present and to come, greeting.

Whereas, since it hath pleased God to call us unto the sucession of this crown, we have had

nothing more at heart than to maintain the alliances and correspondences which we found that the kings our predecessors had made with the princes and potentates of Christendom for the public weal of our kingdom: we have taken especial care of the ancient confederacy and alliance long since contracted and religiously observed between our predecessor Kings, and the Kings of Scotland, for the mutual aid and assistance which they have got from each other upon occasions that have offered for the good of their respective states, people and subjects; and being that we have, moreover, a particular inclination to love our most dear and most beloved good brother and cousin James the VI. of the name reigning over the said country of Scotland, in consideration whereof, desiring, after the example of our other kings our predecessors, to make appear to our said good brother and cousin the said King of Scotland, that the continuance of his friendship is unto us dear and desirable, and to indulge those of the said nation with every instance of good-will, by imparting to them the graces and privileges whereof they have rendered themselves worthy, through the affection and fidelity which they have borne this crown: be it known, that, for the considerations abovesaid, and of our special grace, full power and royal authority, we have said, declared, and commanded, and do, by these presents, say, declare, and command, it is our will and pleasure, that the subjects of our said good brother and cousin the King of Scotland, who do inhabit, or shall hereafter reside in this our kingdom, be capacitated to accept, hold, and possess

all and every the benefices, dignities, and ecclesiastical offices with which they may be justly and canonically invested by sufficient title, nothing derogating from the decrees and concordates, privileges, franchises, and liberties of the Gallican church, thereof to take and seize the possession and enjoyment, and to reap and receive the said fruits and revenues, to what sums soever they do or may amount. And, moreover, to acquire for the future, in our said kingdom, countries, lands, and seignories of our said obedience, all and every the estates, moveable and immoveable, that they shall see meet, to hold and possess them, together with those that may fall, redound, or belong to them, whether by succession, donation, or otherwise, and to order and dispose of them by testament, destination, latter-will, living conveyance, or in what manner soever; and that their heirs, or others, to whom they shall fall *ab intestat*, or otherwise, whether they be residing in our said kingdom, or whether they be in the said kingdom of Scotland, when the said succession or donation shall fall, may succeed to them, take and seize possession and enjoyment of their said estates, just as they would or might do, were they original natives of our said kingdom and country; provided always, that they who shall testate, or decease intestate, be denizons; without our solicitor-general, or other our officers, having any power to claim their said estates as our acquest by right of escheat, or the said subjects of the said kingdom of Scotland, meeting in the enjoyment of such estates with any sort of molestation; without also the acts

and judgments heretofore passed contrary to the tenor of the said presents, being able for the future to hinder the effect hereof, or there being any occasion for the subjects of the country of Scotland to obtain any other dispensation or declaration than these presents; and, as above, we have enabled and dispensed, and do, by these presents, enable and dispense them, without their being obliged, on account thereof, to pay us, or our successors, any finances or indemnity, from which, unto what sum, value, or estimation soever it doth or may amount, we have, in consideration of the above, acquitted and discharged, and do acquit and discharge them, by these presents, signed with our own hand; upon condition, that if, by reason of the said benefices with which the said Scots may be provided, there arise any suit or contention, they shall not cause any of our subjects to be brought or convened, but before such of our judges unto whom the cognizance shall belong. We do therefore give in command, to our beloved and faithful the persons holding our court of parliament, great council, and chamber of accompts at Paris, treasurers general of France, and all our bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, and other our justiciaries and officers, or their deputies, present and to come, and unto every one of them as it shall respectively concern him, that our present grace, leave, licence, and permission, and all in these said presents contained, they cause, suffer, and allow the said subjects and inhabitants of the said kingdom of Scotland to enjoy and use, plenarily and peaceably, ceasing and causing to cease all hinderances and

molestations to the contrary whatsoever. *For such is our pleasure.* Notwithstanding that the value of the said finance is not there specified and declared, that such gifts have been wont to be made only for the half, or the third of the ordinances by us, or our predecessors, issued upon the order and distribution of our finances; from which we have, of our full power and royal authority, derogated, and do derogate, and from the derogatories therein contained, and the ordinances, restrictions, commands, and prohibitions to the contrary whatsoever. And, forasmuch as these presents may be wanted in divers and several places, it is our will, that, upon sight hereof under our seal royal, or duly collated, credit be given as to the present original; unto which, that it may be a deed firm and stable for ever, we have caused our seal to be affixed: saving in all else our right, and that of others in all. Given at Fontainebleau in the month of March, and year of grace one thousand five hundred and ninety-nine, and of our reign the tenth. Signed HENRY. And upon the fold, By the king from Neufville, on one side *visa*, and sealed in a lace of red and green silk, with the great seal in green wax, registered in presence of the king's solicitor-general; provided always that the Scots, who are not denizens, shall have no power to succeed those who shall reside in this kingdom; and the said Scots, residing in this kingdom, shall not be deprived of the said letters upon quitting the said residence. At Paris, in parliament, the last day of July, one thousand five hundred and ninety-nine. Signed Du Tillet. A collated extract from the registers and royal

ordinances registered in parliament. Signed Voisin, with a paraph.

Extract of the records of parliament.

This day the court having seen the letters given at Fontainebleau in the month of March last, signed HENRY, and upon the fold, from Neufville, and sealed with the great seal in green wax, in a lace of red and green silk, whereby, for the causes there contained, the said lord wills, that the subjects of the King of Scotland, who inhabit and reside, or shall hereafter inhabit and reside in this kingdom, have power to accept, hold, and possess all and every the benefices, dignities, and offices ecclesiastical with which they may be lawfully invested, not derogating from the holy decrees, privileges, and liberties of the Gallican church; and, moreover, in this said kingdom, to acquire all and every the estates, moveable and immoveable, to hold and possess them, together with those that may fall and pertain to them whether by succession, donation, or otherwise; and to order and dispose of them by testament, settlement, and latter-will, and otherwise, in what manner soever; and that their relations, and others to whom they shall have disposed of them, and to whom they shall fall *ab intestat*, or otherwise, whether they be resident in this kingdom, or in the said country of Scotland, when the said donation or succession shall fall, may be able to succeed to them, take and seize the enjoyment of their said estates, just as though they were originally natives of the said kingdom; provided that

the testators, or those who shall decease intestate, be denizons, as is more at large contained in the said letters and conclusions of the king's solicitor-general. The matter being taken into deliberation, the said court hath decreed and ordained, that the said letters shall be here registered in presence of the king's solicitor-general, without the Scots who are not denizons having any power to succeed to those who shall reside in this kingdom. And the said Scots residing in this kingdom shall not be deprived of the benefit of the said letters upon quitting the said residence. Done in parliament the last day of July, in the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-nine. Signed Voisin, with a paraph.

Letters-patents of Lewis XIII. to confirm the privileges of the Scots in France, in the year 1612.

Lewis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, unto all present and to come, greeting. Our predecessor kings, even the late King Henry the Great, our most honoured lord and father, (whom God absolve) by his letters-patents of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-nine, verified in our court of parliament at Paris, willed and commanded, for several weighty considerations therein contained, that those of the Scotish nation, who should inhabit and reside hereafter in this our kingdom, should have power to accept, hold, and possess all and every the benefices, dignities, and offices ecclesiastical, with which they might be justly invested, to take the posses-

sion, fruits and revenues of them, to acquire in the said kingdom, country, and lands, and seignories of our obedience, all estates, moveable and immoveable, to have and to hold them, together with those that might fall to them by testament, donation, or otherwise, just as they might do, were they original natives of our said kingdom, upon such conditions, and in such sort as is more at length set forth and specified by the said letters and verification thereof. In consequence whereof, our most dear and well beloved William Morison, a Scotsman, son to John Morison and Elizabeth Gray, also Scots, his father and mother, resident, during their life, in the city of Glasgow, having afterwards retired from the said country, and dwelt thirty years in our cities of Rouen and Dieppe, hath caused most humble petition and request to be made unto us, that he may be enabled to enjoy the tenor of the said letters, under the benefit and grace of which he hath quitted the said country, in order to live and die in this our kingdom: BE IT KNOWN, that, willing to preserve and maintain the subjects of the kingdom of Scotland, in the franchises, privileges, and liberties to them conceded by our said predecessors, and, after their example, favourably to treat them, unto this same William Morison, for these and other causes thereunto us moving, in consequence of the said first letters, the copy whereof, extracted by the recorder of our said court of parliament at Paris, is here annexed under the great seal of our chancery, we have permitted and granted, of our special grace, full power and royal authority, we do permit and

grant, it is our will and pleasure, that, conformably to the said letters and verifications thereof, he may resort and reside in this our kingdom, country, lands, and seignories of our obedience, there to acquire all and every such estates, moveable and immoveable, as he shall see meet, to hold and possess them, togetherwith those that may fall, redound, and pertain to him, whether by succession, donation, or otherwise; and to order and dispose of them by testament and destination of latter-will, living donation, or in what manner soever: and that his heirs, or others to whom they shall fall *ab intestat*, or otherwise, whether they be resident in our said kingdom, or whether they be in the said country of Scotland, when the said succession or donation shall fall, may be able to succeed to him, to take and seize possession and enjoyment of the said estates, just so as they would or could do, if they were original natives of our said kingdom and country, provided they shall be denizons; and that without our solicitor-general, or other our officers, having power henceforth to claim their said estates to us acquired by right of escheat; nor likewise shall any thing, done to the contrary of the tenor of these presents, have power for the future to hinder the effect hereof, or shall there be any need for him to obtain any dispensation or declaration, other than these presents; and to all, as above, we have enabled and dispensed, and do, by these said presents, enable and dispense him, without his being obliged, on account thereof, to pay unto us, or our successors, any finance or indemnity; from which, unto whatever value or estimation it

doth or may amount, we have, in consideration thereof, as above, acquitted and discharged, and do, by these presents, acquit and discharge him: we do therefore give in command, to our beloved and trusty councillors the persons holding our courts of parliament, commissioners of our accompts at Paris and Rouen, treasurers general of France, at Paris and Rouen, or their deputies, or to each of them in their right, themselves first hereto required, and to all other our bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, and other our justiciaries and officers, or their deputies, present and to come, and to each of them whom it shall respectively concern, to cause these presents to be registered, and the tenor thereof to be enjoyed and used plenarily and peaceably by the said William Morison and his successors; ceasing and cause to cease all molestation and hinderances to the contrary whatsoever. *For such is our pleasure.* And to the end that it may be a thing firm and stable for ever, we have caused our seal to be put to these said presents, saving in all else our right, and that of others. Given at Paris, in the month of October, the year of grace one thousand six hundred and twelve, and of our reign the third. Signed Lewis. And counter-signed by the King, the Queen-regent his mother present: and this our copy, signed Potier, in paraph; on the side, contents signed Poulsepin, in paraph, and below *vias*; and sealed with the great seal of green wax in fillet of red and green silk.

Extract of the registers of the parliament of Paris.

Registered in presence of the king's solicitor-general, towards the patentee's enjoying the effect and tenor hereof, with proviso that the said patentee shall be bound to obtain and procure, for the said lord paramount, a brief from our holy father the Pope, within six months next coming, whereby his holiness shall grant, that, upon the falling of any vacancy by death, resignation, or otherwise, of the benefices with which he may be invested in this kingdom and country, being in the nomination and presentation of the said lord paramount, there shall be no investiture thereunto by his said holiness, without the nomination, request or consent of the said lord the king; and, that on account of the said benefices, he shall not cause any of the king's subjects to be brought or convened before the court of Rome, so if, by reason thereof, any law-suit commence, he shall prosecute them in this said kingdom, before the judges to whom the cognizance shall belong: and, moreover, with proviso that the patentee shall not be capable of being invested with any bishopric, archbishopric, or abbey of chief order, nor other vicarages, in form of the said benefices with which he may be invested in this kingdom as a natural subject of France. At Paris, in parliament, the fifteenth day of December, one thousand six hundred and twelve. Signed Du Tillet; a seal and paraph. And, upon the said fold is also wrote, recorded in the register of the treasury, the king's solicitor-general thereunto

consenting, in order for the patentee to enjoy the effect and tenor hereof, upon the terms and conditions set forth by the act of court. Done at Paris, the twentieth of December, one thousand six hundred and twelve. Signed L'Annier in paraph.

Act of King Lewis XIV.'s council of state, in favour of the Scots in France.

Whereas it hath been represented to the King in his council, the Queen-regent his mother present, that, in the year seven hundred fourscore and nine, Charlemagne reigning in France, and Achaius in Scotland, the alliance and confederacy having been made between the two kingdoms, offensive and defensive, of crown and crown, king and king, people and people, as is set forth by the charter called the Golden Bull, it should have, until this present, continued without any interruption, and been ratified by all the Kings successors of the said Charlemagne, with advantages and prerogatives so peculiar, that not only are the Scots in capacity of acquiring and possessing estates, moveable and immoveable, and benefices in France, and the French in Scotland, without taking out any letters of naturalization; but also it should have been granted to the said Scots, to pay only the fourth part of the duties upon all goods which they transport to the said country of Scotland; a privilege which they have ever enjoyed, and do enjoy at this day: that even whatever rupture there may have been between the crowns of France and England, since the union of the kingdom of

England with that of Scotland, the French have been nevertheless still treated by the Scots as friends and confederates, and particularly in the year one thousand six hundred twenty-six, when the French in Scotland, and the Scots in France, had a reciprocal replevy of their merchandises, while those of the French in England, and those of the English in France were confiscated; and that there never hath been made any difference or distinction in this kingdom, between his Majesty's natural subjects and the said Scots: wherefore the late King of happy memory, having, by his declaration in the month of January, one thousand six hundred thirty-nine, commanded that taxes should be laid upon all foreigners of his said kingdom, his Majesty should have, by an act of his council of the eleventh of May in the said year, exempted and discharged all Scots residing therein, their children, descendants, and heirs, from all taxes laid, or to be laid upon the said foreigners. In consequence of the said declaration, acts and rolls of taxes expeded thereupon, willing that, if any Scot had been there comprehended, whether in the city of Paris, or in others of this kingdom, they should be freed without difficulty in virtue of the said acts; the said letters of declaration, acts, or ought else, to the contrary notwithstanding. In prejudice whereof, those who have raised the taxes ordained to be laid upon all foreigners residing in this said kingdom, in virtue of the letters of declaration of the month of January last, had not forborn to comprehend, in the rolls which they caused to be expeded in execution thereof, some

individuals of the Scottish nation amongst other foreigners, without expressing their country and quality; which being absolutely contrary to the intention of his Majesty, who wills and means to entertain inviolably the said confederacy and alliance with the said Scots, and to maintain them in all the rights, privileges, and prerogatives, unto them granted by the kings his predecessors, and which he hath ratified since his accession to the crown: the king being in council, the queen-regent his mother present, hath discharged, and doth discharge, all the Scottish gentlemen residing in his said kingdom, from the tax laid upon them in quality of foreigners: their majesties give prohibition to all bailiffs and sergeants to constrain them on account thereof, on pain of a thousand livres of fine, and of all costs, damages, and interests. And for the other Scots, his majesty hath superseded payment of the said taxes for three months, during which time his majesty prohibits their being constrained, if there is not some private stipulation made by them to the contrary. Done in the king's council of state, his majesty being there, and the queen-regent his mother present, held at Fontainebleau, the nineteenth of September, one thousand six hundred and forty-six. Signed Le Tellier.

Privileges of the Scottish merchants trading in France, granted by King Francis I. in 1518.

Francis, by the grace of God, King of France. Be it known to all present and to come, that we mean to treat favourably the subjects of our most

dear and most beloved brother, cousin, and ally, the king of Scotland, in favour of the great and ancient alliance subsisting between us and him, and of the great and commendable services which those of the Scottish nation have done to the crown of France: for these causes, and in order to give them greater occasion to persevere therein, and for other considerations thereunto us moving, in token also of our inclination to the request of our most dear and most beloved cousin the duke of Albany, regent and governor of Scotland, we have all and every the Scottish merchants, who are and shall be hereafter trading, frequenting and conversing in this our kingdom, freed, acquitted, exempted, and do, of our special grace, full power and royal authority, free, acquit, and exempt, by these presents, signed with our hand, in perpetuity and for ever, from the new impost of twelve French deniers per livre, raised in the city of Dieppe upon foreign merchandise, beside the sum of four French deniers per livre, which hath been anciently collected and raised upon the said foreign merchandise. We do therefore give in command, by these same presents, to our beloved and trusty the commissioners of our exchequers and treasurers of France, and to all our other justiciaries and officers, or to their deputies present and to come, and to every one of them, so as it shall concern him, that our present grace, immunity, discharge, and exemption, they cause, suffer, and allow, the said Scottish merchants, and their successors, who are and shall be trading and frequenting in our said kingdom, to enjoy and use, plenarily and peaceably, perpetu-

ally and for ever, without giving, or suffering to be given them, any manner of disturbance or impediment; for such is our pleasure; whatsoever enactions, restrictions, commands, or prohibitions to the contrary notwithstanding. And to the end that this be a deed firm and stable for ever, we have caused our seal to be put to these said presents, saving in all else our right, and that of others in all. Given at Amboise in the month of May, and year of grace, one thousand five hundred and eighteen, and of our reign the fourth.

Privileges of the Scottish merchants trading in France, granted by King Henry II. in 1554.

HENRY, by the grace of God, King of France, to our beloved and trusty counsellors the persons holding our court of parliament at Rouen, the commissioners of our exchequer at Paris, the inspectors general of our finances and supplies, portmasters at the said Rouen, and to all our other justiciaries and officers, or their deputies, whom it shall concern greeting. We liberally inclining to the request which hath been made us by our dearest and most beloved daughter the queen of Scotland, for her subjects in the said country, and several other considerations thereunto us moving, in order to remove all the difficulties which you and every one of you might make, of causing the subjects of our said daughter in the said country of Scotland, to enjoy our letters of exemption and ampliation here annexed under our counter-seal, and to put a final end thereunto, we have, by amplifying and

interpreting the same, said, declared and ordained, and do, of our own accord, certain knowledge, special grace, full power, and royal authority, say, declare and ordain, that, by our said letters hereunto annexed, as said is, we have intended, and do intend, that the subjects of the said country of Scotland shall not be bound to pay for the commodities which they shall take and carry out of our country and duchy of Normandy, the cities, towns, and havens thereof, whatsoever they be, if designed for the said country of Scotland, other or greater subsidies and duties than they have heretofore been wont to pay, and did pay in our city of Dieppe, at the time of the edicts by us issued concerning the collection of our foreign duties: and, so long as trade is, or shall be, we have exempted, acquitted, and freed them, and do, of our grace and authority, as above, exempt, acquit, and free them from the surplusage of the said duties, and unto what sum soever they may amount, over and above what they have anciently been wont to pay our city of Dieppe, although they be not above specified by these said presents; whereby we command you, and every one of you respectively, as it shall concern him, we give commission and express injunction to cause these our said letters and presents to be read, published and registered, and the contents thereof, our said daughter's subjects, plenarily and peaceably to enjoy, without, on occasion of our said edicts, causing, or suffering to be caused, made, or given them any molestation, disturbance, or impediment, to the contrary whatsoever; according to what, by our said letters here

annexed, as said is, you are commanded to observe; for such is our pleasure; notwithstanding the said edicts, by us and our predecessors made about the receipt of the said duties, from which, this purpose, and without prejudicing them in other respects, we have derogated, and do derogate, and from thence exempted, and do exempt the said subjects of Scotland, by these said presents, which to this end we have signed with our hand. Given at Paris, the third day of February, in the year of grace one thousand five hundred and fifty-two, and of our reign the eighth.

Ratified and approved wherever it hath been necessary.

Confirmation of the privileges of the Scottish merchants trading in France, granted by King Henry IV. in 1599.

HENRY, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, unto all present and to come, greeting. Whereas the late King Francis I. our most honoured sire and grandfather, by his letters-patents, in charter-form, of the month of May one thousand five hundred and eighteen, desiring, for several good considerations, well and favourably to treat the subjects of the kingdom of Scotland, in favour of the great and ancient friendship and alliance which subsisted between the two kingdoms, and of the great and commendable services which those of the Scottish nation had done to the crown of France, should have freed, quitted and exempted all the Scottish merchants, trading, frequent-

ing and dealing in this kingdom, from the foreign impost of twelve French deniers for each livre, then raised in our city of Dieppe upon merchandise, besides four French deniers for each pound of ancient foreign demesne: and since, upon the complaint that the said Scottish merchants had made to the late King Henry II. our most honoured sire and father, (whom God absolve,) that, under pretext of a new edict upon foreign duties, the officers thereof in our city of Rouen had constrained them to pay twenty deniers a livre for the new foreign impost, he should have, by other letters-patents in charter-form, of the month of October, in the year one thousand five hundred fifty-four, by amplifying the said first exemption, ordained that the said Scottish merchants should not be obliged to pay, on account of the commodities which they should bring and carry out of our said country of Normandy, or any towns whatsoever thereof, designed for the said country of Scotland, any other duties and subsidies than they had been of old wont to do, and did at the time of issuing the said new edicts made concerning the receipt of foreign duties and demesnes; as is contained more at large in the said letters verified where need hath been: and also, by other letters-patents, he should have declared to have meant, that the subjects of the said country of Scotland should not be bound to pay for the goods they should bring and carry out of our said country of Normandy, cities, towns, and harbours thereof, designed for the said country of Scotland, other or greater subsidies and duties than they had before

been wont to pay, and did pay in our city of Dieppe, at the time of the edicts by us made relating to the receipt of our duties of foreign impost. But whereas, on occasion of the troubles which have prevailed in this kingdom, especially within these ten or twelve years past, things have been so altered, and the privileges of the Scottish merchants so enervated, that, if we were not pleased to continue and confirm the same to them, they feared therein to find obstacles and difficulties which might deprive them of the benefit of the grace that hath been unto them granted and continued by the said kings our predecessors: be it known, that we desire no less favourably to treat the said Scottish merchants, than the said kings our predecessors have done, as well in consequence of the ancient alliance and confederacy which subsists between this kingdom and that of Scotland, as for the friendship and good correspondence which subsisteth between us and the king of Scotland, James VI. of the name, our most dear and most beloved good brother and cousin, now reigning in the said country; we have, of our special grace, full power and royal authority, said, declared, and ordained, do, by these presents, say, declare, and ordain, it is our will and pleasure, that the said Scottish merchants, trading, frequenting, and conversing, in this our said kingdom, enjoy for the future, in our whole said country and duchy of Normandy, the same franchises, privileges, and immunities, from foreign customs and imposts, and after the same sort and manner that they enjoyed them in the days of the Kings Francis and Henry, our

most honoured grandfather and brother-in-law, until the renewal of the said last troubles, that, by the injury of the times, their enjoyment of them hath been impeded: the which franchises, privileges and immunities, for the considerations above-said, and of our grace, power, and authority, as above, we have confirmed, and do confirm to them, by these said presents, therefore signed by our hand, for the commodities which they shall bring and carry out of our said country and duchy of Normandy, cities, towns, and harbours thereof whatsoever, designed for the said country of Scotland. We do therefore give in command, to our beloved and trusty the persons holding our court of parliament at Rouen, commissioners of our accompts and supply in the said country, treasurers general of France in the said Rouen, port-masters in the said place, or their deputies, and to all other our justiciaries and officers, or their substitutes, whom it shall concern, that the tenor of these presents they cause, suffer, and allow, the said subjects, Scottish merchants, to enjoy and use, plenarily and peaceably; ceasing, and causing to cease, all molestations and impediments to the contrary whatsoever; and to cause this to be suffered, and to return and restore to them hereafter their effects and commodities, if any on account thereof should be taken or arrested, that they constrain, and cause to be constrained, our officers of foreign trade, by all due and lawful methods, any oppositions or appeals whatsoever notwithstanding; and producing these presents, or a *vidimus* thereof, made under the seal royal for once only, we will,

that our receivers of the said foreign duties be held acquitted and discharged thereof by the commissioners of our said accompts in Normandy, whom we warrant so to do, without difficulty or hesitation. And whereas there may be occasion for these presents in several different places, it is our will, that to the copy thereof, duly collated, credit be given as to the present original, whereunto, in witness hereof, and to the end that it be a deed firm and stable for ever, we have caused our seal to be put and affixed, saving in all else our right, and that of others in all. For such is our pleasure. Given at Fontainebleau in the month of March, of the year of grace one thousand five hundred and ninety-nine, and of our reign the tenth. Signed HENRY; countersigned, by the king at Neufville, and sealed in a silk string with the great seal of green wax.

From a copy collated with the original on parchment, by a clerk of the court of parliament of Rouen, the 27th of April, 1599.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

EXPEDITION

OF

William the Ninth Earl of Glencairn,

AS

GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES

IN THE

Highlands of Scotland,

IN THE YEARS 1653 AND 1654.

WRITTEN

BY JOHN GRAHAM OF DEUCHRIE,

Who was Eye and Ear-witness to all that passed from first to last.

CONTAINING A VARIETY OF PARTICULARS

NOT TAKEN NOTICE OF BY ANY HISTORIAN.

S 6

AN

ACCOUNT, &c.

THE earl of Glencairn went from his own house of Finleston in the beginning of the month of August, 1653, to Lochearn, where several of the clans did meet him, viz. the earl of Athol, MacDonald of Glengarie, Cameron of Lochyell, ordinarily called MacEldney, John Graham of Deuchrie, Donald MacGregour, tutor of MacGregour Farquharson of Inverey, Robertson of Strowan, MacNachtane of MacNachtane, Archibald lord Lorn, afterwards earl of Argyle, colonel Blackader of Tullyattan.

These gentlemen, after some few days consultation with his lordship, did promise to bring out what forces they could with all expedition.

My lord, notwithstanding, did lie to and from the hills, not having any with him but the writer of this, and three servants, for the space of six weeks.

The first forces that came to him here, were brought by John Graham of Deuchrie: they were forty footmen. Within two or three days after came Donald MacGregour the tutor, with eighty footmen.

My lord general with this force came to Graham of Deuchrie's house, where, within few days, my lord Kenmure came with forty h men from the west: colonel Blackader also c with thirty horsemen, which he had gathere gether in Fifeshire. The laird of MacNach came with twelve horsemen: there was bet sixty and eighty of the Lowlandmen that were mounted on horses, but were very well prov in their arms: they were commanded by ca James Hamilton, brother of the laird of Milnt and were called to a nickname *Gravats*.

Colonel Kidd, governor of Stirling, being formed that the king's forces were come so him, did march with the most part of his regi of foot, and troop of horse, to a place called A foyle, within three miles of the place wher lord general did lie, who having intelligence th of, did march with the small force he had, to pass of Aberfoyle; and drawing up his fo within the pass, did distribute his footmen on sides thereof, very advantageously; and the h which were commanded by lord Kenmure, drawn up on the wings of the foot. He gav ders that captain Hamilton, who commanded Lowlandmen, called *Gravats*, with Deuchrie's r should receive the first charge, which they did gallantly; and at the very first encounter, enemy began to retire back. The general ceiving the same, did command the High forces to pursue, as also lord Kenmure with horse he had. The enemy began, upon this, de right to run; they were pursued very hard;

lost on the spot about sixty, and about eighty were killed in the pursuit: no prisoners were taken.

My lord general having succeeded so well, from all places men did daily come in to him. We then marched to Lochearn, and from that to Loch-Rannoch, where, at the hall in the isle of Loch-Rannoch, the clans met him. In the mean while, he was very busy in dispatching men to the Lowlands, giving them commission for taking horses, for raising men, and for carrying off all the arms they could find.

The clans who met him at Loch-Rannoch brought their forces with them: the laird of Glengarie brought three hundred very pretty men: the laird of Lochyell brought four hundred Lochaber-men: the tutor of MacGregour had then about two hundred men with him.

Sir Arthur Forbes, and Gerard Irvine his lieutenant-colonel, with several other officers, came with about eighty men on horseback. The earl of Athol came with a hundred horse, and with a regiment of brave foot, consisting of near one thousand two hundred men, commanded by Andrew Drummond, brother german of Sir James Drummond of Machany. He was the earl of Athol's lieutenant-colonel.

These noble persons were ordered to give commission to captains, and other inferior officers, to go to the Lowlands, for levying what men they could. We then marched down to the skirts of the Lowlands, near the Marquis of Huntly's bounds, where several gentlemen joined us.

The laird of Inverey rendezvoused in Cr
for the raising of a regiment. General-
Morgan, who was lying at Aberdeen, bein
formed of the day of rendezvous in Cromar,
draw out of several garrisons two thousand
and one thousand horse and dragoons, with
he marched day and night before the day of
dezvous; and we not having intelligence o
march, he fell upon our outer guards, and th
hotly, that our forces had much ado to get d
up; and if it had not been for John Graha
Deuchrie, with about forty men who fired
the enemy, some of our own men being amo
them, and having killed the officer who comma
the party of the enemy who had entered the
before us, this put them into some confusion,
made them stand a little.

In the mean time lord Kenmure, who comm
ed the van, marched at a great rate. Our
took the glen on both sides. This glen lead
the laird of Grant's ground of Abernethy w
Morgan now having got up his foot, ordered t
to march on both sides of the glen after our
he himself charging at the mouth of the glen.
lord general, who was in the rear, was desire
change his horse, but he would not, though
nag he rode on was not worth £100 Scots.
gentlemen who attended on my lord general,
the laird of MacNachtane, Sir Mungo Mur
who killed one of the enemy's officers as they
tered the pass, Nathaniel Gordon, a brave gen
man, major Ogilvie, captain Ochtrie Campb
captain John Rutherford, who wants the leg, o

nel Blackader, the laird of Glengarie, with several other gentlemen of repute, whose names I cannot now remember. The glen was so strait for the horses, that only two could march a-breast, and sometimes only one. The enemy pursued so hotly, that they fought on foot as often as on horseback. We had eight miles to travel through the glen, before we could reach the laird of Grant's ground, and the enemy did not give over the fight, till night parted us.

Morgan lay in the glen all that night; and the next morning he marched down through the Cromar, and from thence to Aberdeen.

After this we lay in that country and in Badenoch, for near five weeks. Lord Kenmure was sent with a hundred horse to the shire of Argyle, to bring up what forces lord Lorn had gathered. He had mustered one thousand foot, and about fifty horse, who marched and joined us in Badenoch, where he remained with us about a fortnight; but being some how discontented, he marched home with his men on the 1st day of January, 1654.

My lord general having intelligence of his desertion, ordered the laird of Glengarie, with Lochyell, and so many horse as could be conveniently spared, to pursue him, and bring him back with his men, or otherwise to fight him. Lorn marched straightway for the castle of Ruthven in Badenoch, a house belonging to the marquis of Huntly, wherein there was a garrison of English soldiers; but Glengarie being very eager in the pursuit, overtook him before he got within half a mile of the castle. Lord Lorn seeing this, slipped off with what horse

he had, leaving his foot to the mercy of Glen and his men. He presently commanded a of horse to follow Lorn, who could not ove him; but they brought back about twenty o horsemen. His footmen were drawn up on a where they beat a parley, and engaged to the general for behalf of his majesty.

Glengarie was not quite satisfied with thei swer, but was inclined to fall upon them, f had still a grudge against them, since the wa the great Montrose. My lord general by time coming up, and hearing of the offer they made, ordered one to go to them, and in them, that he would accept of no offer from t till they lay down all their arms; upon which immediately gave them up.

The general then went up to them, with se of his officers, and they all declaring they were ling to engage in his majesty's service, under lordship, he caused both officers and sold each of them, to take an oath to be faithful to majesty; which they very readily did, and t their arms were restored to them: but with fortnight thereafter, neither officers nor sold of them were to be seen with us: and we he no more of lord Lorn, nor any of his men si that time.

There was one colonel Vaughan, or Wag who came from England by Carlisle, and joi us with near a hundred gentlemen on horseba well mounted and armed. The colonel him was unfortunately killed in a rencounter he with the brazen-wall regiment of horse; but

withstanding of the deadly wounds he had received, he rooted the troop, and killed the commander thereof, though it was said, that in all the civil wars they never had been beat. This brave gentleman had his wounds healed over: but from what cause I know not, they broke out again, and occasioned his death, to the great regret of all who knew him.

We being now a considerable body, both of horse and foot, by reason of the great numbers of new levied men that came in daily to us, the general, with advice of the officers, thought it fit to march down to the Lowlands, in the shire of Aberbeen: so we went by Balvenie, and from thence to a place called Whitelums, near to which was a garrison of the enemy in the castle of Kildrummie, a house belonging to the Earl of Mar. Morgan not daring to come out to us, knowing our army was full as good as his own; after that we had been in this country a fortnight, we marched for the shire of Murray, where we remained near a month. Our head quarters was at Elgin.

The English had two garrisons in Murrayshire, one in Burgie castle, and the other in Calder; but notwithstanding of both, we got no hurt from them, but had very good quarters, and made ourselves merry all the time we were there. We had wasted the Highlands by reason of our long tarrying there. The marquis of Montrose, son of the great Montrose, joined the general at Elgin, with near thirty gentlemen; also the lord Forrester, with a few men, and one *little* major Strachan.

The general having received letters from my

lord Middleton, advising him of his arrival in Sutherland, with several other officers sent by his majesty, viz. Major-General Monro, to command as lieutenant-general of horse and foot, Dalziel, to command as major-general of horse and foot, and Drummond, as major-general of foot: lord Napier was to have a regiment. There were several other gentlemen who came over as officers in the same ship.

The lord general immediately ordered the army to march to Sutherland. Morgan having intelligence, marched upon our rear, and as we marched we had many hot skirmishes with him. Our general was always present and in action; and always, when necessary, ordered fresh parties to relieve those that stood in need of assistance. This skirmishing lasted for the space of two days and two nights.

We sat down before the house of the laird of Lethen, whose name was Brodie, who held it out for the English. Our general sent and ordered him to deliver up the house for the king's service, which he refused; and on the approach of our men, he fired out on them, and killed four or five of them. The general being incensed at this, ordered the soldiers to pull down several stacks of corn, with which he filled the court and gates of the house, which being set on fire, he judged the smoke would stifle them, the wind blowing it into the house: but it took not the effect he expected; for they still held out the house, and we lost other three or four men more ere we marched the next morning.

The general ordered all Lethen's land and stack-yards to be burnt, which was accordingly done; and these were the only orders he gave for burning during all his command.

We then marched straightway for a pass that lay eight miles above Inverness; and having got to that pass, our army crossed the water of Inverness: the whole horses were made to swim, and the men passed in boats. Here we kept a strong guard, and our army lay for the space of six weeks quite safe up and down the country of Sutherland, the English having no garrison in that country.

The lord general immediately set out for Dornoch, to receive lord Middleton's commands, who was to be general in chief; and, after five or six days rest, lord Middleton ordained that there might be a general rendezvous of the whole army, that so he might see what the men were, both as to their arms, mounting and numbers.

The army was accordingly mustered upon a Saturday in the middle of March; their number amounted to 3500 footmen, and 1500 horsemen. Of the horsemen there would have been about 300 that were not well horsed nor well armed.

There was an English pink cast in by stress of weather, on the coast of Sutherland; she was loaded with near forty tons of French wine. General Middleton distributed this among the officers of the army; and he gave to the earl of Glencairn one ton thereof.

The army being drawn up again, according to the former order, the earl of Glencairn passed along the front of all the regiments of horse and

foot, and informed all the officers and men as he went along, that he had no further command now but as a private colonel, and that he hoped they should be very happy in having so noble a commander as the present general, and the officers under him; and so he wished them all well. Those who saw this could easily perceive how very unsatisfied the soldiers were, by their looks and countenance; for several, both officers and soldiers, shed tears, and vowed that they would serve with their old general in any corner of the world.

When this ceremony was over, the earl of Glencairn invited the general with all the general officers and colonels, to dine with him. His quarters were at the laird of Kettle's house, four miles south from Dornoch, the head quarters. They were as well entertained by his lordship as it was possible in that country. The grace said, and the cloth withdrawn, his lordship called for a glass of wine, and then addressed the general in these words: "My lord general, you see what a gallant army these worthy gentlemen here present and I have gathered together, at a time when it could hardly be expected that any number durst meet together; these men have come out to serve his majesty, at the hazard of their lives, and of all that is dear to them: I hope therefore you will give them all the encouragement to do their duty that lies in your power." On this, up started Sir George Munro from his seat, and said to lord Glencairn, "By G—, my lord, the men you speak of are nothing but a number of thieves and robbers; and ere long I will bring another sort of men to the field." On which

Glengarie started up, thinking himself most concerned; but lord Glencairn desired him to forbear, saying, "Glengarie, I am more concerned in this affront than you are;" then addressing himself to Monro, said, "You, Sir, are a base liar; for they are neither thieves nor robbers, but gallant gentlemen, and good soldiers."

General Middleton commanded them both to keep the king's peace, saying, "My lord, and you Sir George, this is not the way to do the king service; you must not fall out among yourselves; therefore I will have you both to be friends;" and immediately calling for a glass of wine, said, "My lord Glencairn, I think you did the greatest wrong in giving Sir George the lie; you shall drink to him, and he shall pledge you." The noble and good lord Glencairn accordingly took his glass, as ordered by the general, and drank to Sir George; who, in his old surly humour, muttered some words, which were not heard, but did not pledge his lordship.

The general gave orders to sound to horse; and lord Glencairn went out in order to accompany him to the head-quarters; but the general would not allow him to go above a mile of the way. His lordship then returned back, having none in his company but colonel Blackader and John Graham of Deuchrie. When arrived, he became exceeding merry, causing the laird's daughter play on the virginals, and all the servants about the house to dance. Supper being now ready and on the table, as my lord was going to set down, one of the servants told him, that Alexander Munro, Sir

George's brother, was at the gate. My lord immediately commanded to let him in, and met him at the hall-door, where he saluted him, and made him very welcome, saying, "You see, Sir, the meat is on the table, and will spoil if we sit not down to it." He placed Monro at the head of the table, next the laird's daughter. All present were very merry. My lord told Munro, he would give him a spring if he would dance; which accordingly he did with the rest, the laird's daughter playing. While the rest were merry, his lordship and Monro stepped aside: they did not speak a dozen of words together, as all thought; and after drinking a little longer, Munro departed. My lord then called for candles, and went to bed. There were two beds in his room, in one of which he lay, and in the other lay Blackader and Deuchrie. The whole family in a little went to bed. None knew any thing of his lordship's design but one John White, who was his trumpeter and valet de chambre. The night being very short, and my lord being to meet Munro half way between his quarters and Dornoch, their meeting was to be as soon as they could perceive daylight; so that his lordship got not two hours rest before he rose, and, notwithstanding the two aforesaid gentlemen lay in the room with him, he went out and returned from the encounter without the knowledge of any one in the house, except John White his servant, who accompanied him. Munro came accompanied with his brother. They were both well mounted; each of the parties were to use one pistol, after discharging of which they were to decide the quarrel

with broad swords. Their pistols were fired without doing any execution, and they made up to each other with their broad swords drawn. After a few passes his lordship had the good fortune to give Sir George a sore stroke on the bridle-hand; whereupon Sir George cried out to his lordship that he was not able to command his horse, and he hoped he would allow him to fight on foot. My lord replied, "You base carle! I will show you that I will match you either on foot or horseback." Then they both quitted their horses, and furiously attacked each other on foot. At the very first bout the noble earl gave him so sore a stroke on the brow, about an inch above his eyes, that he could not see for the blood that issued from the wound. His lordship was then just going to thrust him through the body; but his man John White, forced up his sword, saying, "You have enough of him, my lord, you have got the better of him." His lordship was very angry with John, and in a great passion gave him a blow over the shoulder. He then took horse and came back to his quarters. Munro came straight away to the head-quarters, and his brother had much ado to get him conveyed there, by reason of the blooding both of his hand and head.

The general being acquainted of this meeting, immediately sent captain Ochtrie Campbell with a guard, to secure the earl of Glencairn in his quarters; which accordingly was done before six in the morning. The general had ordered captain Campbell to take his lordship's sword from him, and

to commit him to arrest in his chamber, taking his parole. This affair happened on Sunday morning.

In the week ensuing, there fell out an accident which made the breach still wider betwixt his lordship and Munro. One captain Livingston, who came over with Monro, and a gentleman called James Lindsay, who came over with lord Napier, had some hot words together. Livingston alledged Munro was in the right, and Lindsay insisted in the contrary. They challenged each other, and went out early in the morning to the links of Dornoch, where, at the very first bout, Lindsay thrust his sword through Livingston's heart, so that in a short time he expired. Lindsay was immediately after unfortunately taken; which when lord Glencairn heard, he dealt very earnestly with the general, and caused other officers to do the same for Lindsay's release; but nothing could prevail with him: he immediately called a council of war, who gave sentence that Lindsay should be shot to death at the cross of Dornoch, before four that afternoon, which was accordingly done. Lord Glencairn was exceedingly troubled at this gentleman's death: but all this must be done, forsooth, to please Sir George. Lord Glencairn took care that nothing should be wanting for burying this unfortunate gentleman with decency: and as there was no prospect of making up the breach which gave occasion to this mischief, his lordship, on that day fortnight after his encounter with Munro, marched away for the south country. He was accompanied with none other save his own troop, and some gentlemen

volunteers that were waiting for command. They were not in all a hundred horse. We marched straight for the laird of Assint's bounds. When the general had notice of our departure, he sent a strong party to bring us back, or otherwise to fight us. When his lordship had got safely to Assint, the laird thereof came to him, and offered to serve him, promising to secure the passes, so that the whole army should not be able to reach him that night, though they were to come in pursuit of him. His lordship was under the necessity of accepting this offer, though it was said that this very gentleman had betrayed and delivered up the great Montrose; yet most part believed that it was his father-in-law who betrayed that great nobleman, and not himself, who was young at that time.

The next day his lordship marched to Kintail, where he was very genteelly received by the gentleman who commanded there for lord Seaforth, to whom the house belonged. Here he stayed some days to refresh both men and horses; from that he marched to Lochbroom; from Lochbroom to Lochaber; from thence to Lochrannoch; thence to the head of Loch Tay, to a church town called Killinn. He rested here for the space of ten days, till Sir George Maxwell came and joined him with near an hundred horsemen.

Earl William of Selkirk also joined him with sixty horsemen; and lord Forrester, with *little* major Strachan, and one who went under the name of captain Gordon; they brought with them about eighty horsemen. This Gordon was an English-

man—his real name was Portugus—he was hanged at the cross of Edinburgh after our capitulation, for running away from them with several troopers that he had persuaded to follow him. There joined us several more of our captains, and some of their men also. His lordship finding, that by the addition of these noblemen and gentlemen, with their troopers, his numbers were increased to near 400 horsemen, he thought it proper to send them to general Middleton, that so they might not be wanting in their duty to the king's service where occasion might offer. Accordingly they went and joined the general. Lord Glencairn contracted a violent flux, by which he was in great danger, so that we all thought he would have died. This obliged us to make but short journeys. There were none with him but a few gentlemen and his own servants. We came at last to Leven, and staid at the castle of Rosedoe, belonging to the laird of Luss. His lordship was still careful in sending officers to different places, to levy men out of the Lowlands; and, within a month's time, he had got together about two hundred horse.

We had left Middleton, the general, in Sutherland, in the month of April, toward the latter end thereof; he immediately after marched to Caithness, where he expected more forces to join him, both from lord Seaforth and lord Reay, as also others, which Munro assured him of; but he was disappointed of them all.

He then marched towards the south country to avoid general Monk, who now had the command in Scotland, and had ordered Morgan to march

with what forces could be spared out of the garrisons. Monk marched his army north, and joined Morgan in the shire of Aberdeen. They then marched to the Highlands, but in different bodies, yet so as they should always be within a day's march of each other.

Middleton, with the king's army, came to the side of Lochgarie, where, at a small village, he was resolved to encamp all night; but Morgan, by his good fortune, reached the same place before the king's army, who had no intelligence where their enemies were, till the van-guard was fired upon by Morgan's outer guard. The English troop were the van of the king's army: there was no ground there on which they could draw up; for on the one hand was the loch, and on the other it was so marshy, that no horse was able to ride it; and on the way by the loch, two or three at most were all that could ride a-breast. The general Middleton finding this, ordered the army to face about; so that the van, who were the English gentlemen, became the rear. They behaved themselves very gallantly, but were very hard pressed by Morgan, who fell upon the general's baggage, where was his commission and all his papers.

Morgan pursued so hotly, that at last he obliged Middleton's army to run as fast as they could. There was no great slaughter; for, before they had passed the loch, night came on. Every man then shifted for himself, and went where he best liked. The general went off with a few; where he went to I can give no account; only he no more

took the field, but shortly went over to his majesty in Flanders.

Many of the earl of Glencairn's men who had been at Lochgarie, came and offered their services to him at Rosedoe: but he said to them, "Gentlemen, I see the king's interest in Scotland is now broken, the king's army being so shamefully lost as it hath been: and as I am now in a very bad state of health, I am resolved to capitulate with the enemy, for myself and those that are with me; and, if you please, you shall be included in the capitulation. Consider of this, gentlemen, and give me your answer to-morrow, that I may know for how many I am to capitulate; in the mean time you may go to the quarters I have appointed for you."

The officers the next day waited on his lordship, and told him, that as they had at first joined him to serve the king, and as they understood from him, that they could not at present do his majesty any service, they were all willing to accept of whatever terms his lordship should make for them.

His lordship immediately sent commissioners to capitulate with Monk, who at that time resided at Dalkeith; and it was a full month before the business was closed. The treaty was once entirely broken off; on which his lordship, who was informed that a party of horse and dragoons were quartered in Dunbarton, resolved to beat up their quarters. We had an outer guard at a ford within four miles of Dunbarton, which we kept in possession during the month that we lay in those parts. My lord ordered two hundred of

his best horse, under the command of Sir George Maxwell of Newark, his lieutenant-colonel, to cross the river where the said outer guard was, and, as soon as he should cross, to ride on at a gallop to the town. This was to be done about one in the afternoon, when the enemy were judged to be at dinner. This was accordingly done to good purpose: those of the enemy that could, fled to the castle; between thirty and forty of them were killed, and above twenty were made prisoners.

All the horses belonging to both horsemen and dragoons were taken: we likewise brought away with us two hundred loads of corn out of the town.

As soon as the news of this defeat came to general Monk's knowledge, he immediately brought on the capitulation again; which was soon happily concluded on, and he agreed to much more favourable terms than before this he would condescend to grant.

The conditions were, that all the officers and soldiers should be indemnified as to their lives and fortunes, and that they should have passes delivered to each to secure their safety in travelling through the country to their own respective homes, they doing nothing prejudicial to the present government. The officers were to be allowed all their horses and arms, to be disposed of as they pleased; they were also to have the liberty of wearing their swords when they travelled through the country. The common soldiers were allowed to sell their horses; they were obliged to deliver up their arms, but it was ordained that they were to receive the

full value for them, as it should be fixed by two officers of lord Glencairn's, and two of general Monk's. All which particulars were punctually performed by the general. Two long tables were placed upon the green below the castle, at which all the men received their passes, and the common soldiers the money for their arms.

This happened upon the 4th day of September, 1654. The earl of Glencairn that same night crossed the water, and came to his own house of Finlayston.

THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

KING JAMES THE FIFTH

OF

SCOTLAND;

IN WHICH

IS THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION IN THAT KINGDOM:

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE SUFFERINGS

OF THE

Renowned Lady Jean Douglas,

&c. &c.

FROM THE FRENCH, PRINTED AT PARIS, 1612.

Glasgow:

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1819.

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THE

PREFACE.

THE reader will not be surprised if he find a variety of matters touched in this general Preface or introduction to the following tracts; this could not be well avoided in an account of Miscellaneous papers.

The author of the life and death of king James V. was a French gentleman, and no wonder that he gives a more full account of several matters than other historians; because that king had two queens from France, and many of their countrymen had considerable posts in the government of Scotland. Our author gives no account of affairs during the minority of that prince, which is generally the weakest part of a reign, and affords only the history of the intrigues and practices of ambitious politicians, who involve their country in blood and confusion, for the sake of ingrossing the whole power, or a considerable share thereof. The state of affairs in Scotland during this king's minority was this; first, queen Margaret had the keeping of the young prince her son, and the government of the kingdom committed to her during her widowhood: her brother Henry VIII. of

of England had gained her to endeavour what she could to lessen the inclination of the leading men of Scotland to the French their old confederates; but she by her marriage with Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, lost the administration. To balance the English party in Scotland, the French king, upon the desire of the estates of the kingdom, sent over John duke of Albany, earl of Marche, Mar, and Garioch, lord of Annandale and the Isle of Man, count of Boulogne and Auvergne, by his marriage with the heiress Anne de La Tour and Auvergne. The French king did not openly discover what share he had in that affair, because then he was forming a league with England; and notwithstanding all the endeavours of Henry VIII. to hinder the duke to come to Scotland, he landed in that kingdom, March 27th, 1515, his great misfortune was his ignorance of the language, and customs, and parties there; this made him rely too much on the advice of John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, who in all the counsels he gave him, had more in his view to be revenged of his own enemies than the public good. The king of England used all methods to make the duke of Albany uneasy, and to possess those of most power in Scotland with jealousies of him, as being the son of a traitor, who was outlawed for levying war against his sovereign, and designing to dispossess him of the crown: that the duke was entirely in the interests of the French king, and had a greater regard to the service of that monarch than to the advantage and prosperity of Scotland. Queen Margaret, on the other hand, when there was wars

betwixt England and Scotland, discovered all the duke's designs that she could come to the knowledge of. This queen, upon some misunderstanding betwixt her and her husband, became at last weary of him, and sued for a divorce, because, as she said, he kept a mistress when she was in England: this made her live in better friendship with the duke than formerly. Whilst the duke was in France, which was from June, 1517, to September, 1523, the earl of Angus did what he could to strengthen his own party, and exclude the Governor from the administration, upon whose return the earl fled to England, where he was kindly received by Henry VIII. and was entirely gained to that king's interest. Henry used all means possible to get the earl restored to his possessions in Scotland, but in vain; and both by letters from himself, and from some eminent divines in England, persuaded his sister to be reconciled to her husband, and amongst other things reproached her with too great familiarity with the duke of Albany: though he could not get the peace made up betwixt her husband and her, yet she was gained to follow her old practice, of being a spy upon the duke, discovering his designs to her brother, or to his ministers, which in a great measure defeated all his purposes to invade England. At that time a faction began, which at last obliged the duke to leave Scotland, to which he never after returned, though he kept all his titles there: he died in his castle of Mirefleur, 1536, and was a prince of great courage; he had the command of considerable forces both by sea and land, under Francis I. of

France, in which posts he always behaved himself honourably; he governed Scotland with great equity. When the news of his departure came to England, king Henry acquainted the earl of Angus with it, and desired him to go to Scotland, for then he was in France, where he had been three years. In the next parliament, the authority of the governor was abrogated; the keeping of the young king was intrusted to four bishops, and four noblemen; who were the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, of Aberdeen and Dunkeld, the earls of Arran, Angus, Lennox, and Argyll, who were to be the king's tutors by turns; but Angus at last got the young king into his own keeping, and excluded the rest. Buchanan tells us, that the earl of Angus encouraged the king too much in his youthful pleasures, either to make him easy under his present restraint, or to engage him so deep in pleasures that he might be careless of the government, which he thought would turn to his own advantage: at last the king got free from the earl and his party, and banished them; the earl retired to England, and did not return till after the king's death.

In the minority of this king, Henry VIII. by his ambassadors in Scotland, used all means to dispose him to prefer an alliance with England before one with France; and for that end he sent him presents of fine horses and arms, which he knew would most readily take with the martial genius of this young prince; but several noblemen, and the popish clergy, many of whom had benefices in France, persuaded him to the contrary: those

who were for the antient league with France, always reminded him of the strait alliance of his ancestors with that nation. Because there is mention of the league in the following history, I shall give here a short account of it:

All the Scotch historians agree, that it began in the time of Charlemagne, cotemporary with Achaius king of Scotland; it is certain that this league is very ancient, for in the * contract of marriage betwixt Francis, dauphin of France, and Mary, queen of Scots, April the 19th, 1558, it is said to be of eight hundred years' standing. The honourable Sir James Dalrymple, in his learned historical collections thinks this a good argument of its antiquity. † Hilarion de Coste, in his Eloges et les vies des Dames Illustres, tom. 2, in the character of Magdalen de France, king James V.'s first queen, says the same. In the original instructions given November 15th, 1570, by the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Huntly and Argyll, Mary queen of Scots' lieutenants, to the bishops of Ross and Galloway, and the lord Livingston, to treat with queen Elizabeth, for queen Mary's restoration, in the third article it is said, "that the old league has been inviolably kept betwixt France and Scotland for eight hundred years and more." Eginhardus, secretary to Charlemagne, gives us an account of the assistance the Scots gave to Charles in his wars. Paulus Æmilius, in his second book de Rebus Gestis Francorum, says, "Honores, Magistratusq; Saxonibus, Gentibus alienigenis, et

* Traite de paix.—† Caligula, c. 2, p. 296.

imprimis Scotis mandabat Carolus, quorum egregia fide virtuteq; utebatur." Belleforestus, in lib. 1, Hist. Carol. Mag. confirms this; and adds, "Scotorum fideli opera non parum adjutus in Bello Hispanico fuerat." The occasion of the league, was according to Buchanan, Lesley, "Conæus de duplici statu Religionis apud Scotus," David Chambers, and others, that the English Saxons had invaded France and plundered the seacoast; whilst Charles was absent in his wars against the Saracens, he thought it adviseable to enter into a perpetual alliance with the Scots, who by their nearness to England, were most capable to give a diversion to his enemies. Achaius, who knew that quarrels with neighbouring princes were unavoidable, was glad of the assistance of the French. The articles of this league were the same with those of other alliances, viz. "That the French and Scotch were to have common friends and enemies, that they were to assist each other in their wars, and that none of the kings of the two nations were to make a separate peace with England." And it may be said, that never a treaty was more inviolably kept than this. Lesly tells us, Achaius sent his brother William to France with four thousand men to assist Charles in his wars in Italy, and in his absence William commanded the army. Conæus, who lived long in Italy, informs us, that many of William's soldiers settled there, and were founders of several families, as of the Barones, of the Mariscotti in Bononia and Siena, the Scoti in Placentia and Mantua. Sansovino and other

genealogists say, that those families began in the reign of Charlemagne.

We do not believe what some historians affirm, that as a memorial of this league the crown of Scotland, which was before only a plain circle of gold, had another of flower de lis raised about it; for the learned Mabillon, whose testimony in this matter is much to be depended upon, tells us, * that the first French kings who had the flower de lis on their crowns, were Philip I. and his father. Some also say, that upon this league, the arms of Scotland were inclosed in a double tressure, flowered and counter-flowered with flowers de lis, which is not probable, seeing Mabillon assures us, who is best acquainted of any with the seals of the French kings, that † Philip the August, who died about 1223, was the first who had one flower de lis in his counter-seal; Lewis VIII. and IX. had sometimes one, and sometimes many, which was observed by the following kings, till the reign of Charles V. who reduced the flowers de lis to three: neither till a long time after that, did the kings of Scotland use their arms on their seals, as we are informed by that learned and judicious antiquary Mr. Anderson, ‡ who is a great judge of the antiquities of Scotland, and has had better occasions than any to know what belongs to the seals, charters, and coins of his country.

At this time, as Buchanan says, barbarity and ignorance had not overspread Scotland so much

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* De re diplomatica, p. 424.—† Page 139.—‡ Independency of Scotland, p. 66.

as other countries; for there were still in that nation some monks remarkable for the ancient piety and learning. Charles was a prince who favoured and encouraged men of letters, therefore he invited some of them to France. Buchanan expresses that well in his admirable poem upon the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots with the dauphin of France.

"Hæc quoque cum Latium quateret Mars barbarus Orbem,
Sola prope expulsis fuit Hospita terra Camœnis, &c."

When barbarous foes the Roman bounds o'erspread,
Thither the muses for protection fled:
Hence Greek and Roman learning in full store,
By Charlemagne to France was wafted o'er.

Bede, lib. 3, Hist. chap. 27, tells us, that many of the noblemen's sons of England, were sent to Scotland to be educated, where they were entertained kindly, and had maintainance and learning given them gratis; for at that time the monasteries were schools of learning, and not as afterwards, privileged places for impurity, laziness, and ignorance. Before this time flourished Bonifacius a Scotchman, according to Marianus Scotus, lib. 2, ad annum, 741, and Trithemius, lib. 2, cap. 24. Dempster, in a dissertation concerning the country of this Bonifacius, has nine arguments to prove him a Scotchman; he was called the apostle of Germany, preached the gospel in many places of that country, and was the first archbishop of Mentz. Those who came to France upon Charles' desire, were Joannes Albinus, or Alcuinus, Charlemagne's preceptor, he founded the university of

Paris. In his 26th epistle, he calls himself Vernaculum Scotorum, i. e. a native of Scotland. Bosius, tom. 2, lib. 2, cap. 9, is of the same opinion; as also Boterus, &c. Buchanan says, he saw a book of rhetoric of which he was the author. At this time came also Clemens Scotus, who founded the university of Padua.

The Scotch guards in France began upon this occasion, when Alexander III. heard that St. Lewis designed an expedition to the holy land, he sent to his assistance seven thousand soldiers, Lewis chose twenty-four out of that number, who were to have the constant keeping of his person; his example was followed by his successors; Charles V. added seventy-six to the former number; Charles VII. besides the hundred foot-guards, added a troop of cuirassiers of that nation, who were to take place of all the horse of his army. An * original paper, containing instructions from queen Mary of Scotland, to her ambassador the bishop of Ross, &c. at a treaty with queen Elizabeth, informs us of the state of those guards in 1570. They then consisted of a hundred men of arms, a hundred archers of the guards, and twenty-four archers of the corps, keepers of the king's body: after the reformation the privileges of those guards were greatly lessened. This is remarkable, that never any of those gentlemen was found guilty of treason, or carelessness in the defence of the French kings. Philip de Comines, lib. 11, cap. 12, of the life of Lewis XI. tells us, that the citi-

* Cotton Library, Calig. c. 2, fol. 323.

zens of Liege broke in upon the lodgings of that king, and had certainly killed him, had it not been for the valour of his Scotch guards, who stood about him like a wall, and with their arrows drove them and the Burgundians away. At the battle of Pavia, Francis I. was not taken till there were only four alive of his one hundred Scotch guards. It would be too tedious to give a long account of the privileges the Scotch nation had in France by that league, especially the merchants and students.

Several things contributed to the weakening of the alliance with France; first, Henry VIII. by means of his sister, queen Margaret, stirred up a party in Scotland against those who were for the old league. Herbert, in the life of that king, tells us, that he loved interviews because he was a handsome prince, and made a great appearance at jousts and tournaments; yet the great reason of his desire to meet with king James, was to alienate him from the friendship with France, and to persuade him to make a breach with Rome, as the most likely way to attain that end: but king James rejected the offers of his uncle, who persuaded him to a match with his daughter Mary, and afterwards married with France. Francis I. who had heard of the danger of losing the friendship of Scotland by the solicitations of Henry VIII. and that king James was come to France to court his daughter Magdalen, he received him with all possible solemnity. King James entered Paris, December 3, 1536. Hilarion de Coste tells us, from the records of the parliament of Paris, that

Francis commanded the parliament to do James the same honours they did himself. The senators objected, "that it was never their custom to attend foreign princes in their red robes." The French king answered, "that he could grant king James no less, seeing he was his old ally, and was come in person to marry his daughter." The marriage was solemnized the next day. * When Henry heard of it, he wrote to Francis, then at peace with him, and told him, "that his alliance with the Scotch king, vexed him no less than it would do a violent lover to see his mistress embrace his mortal enemy." After the death of king James, Henry proposed to the estates of Scotland, a match betwixt his son Edward and the young queen Mary; one of the conditions of it was, "that they should renounce their league with France, and that the young queen should be carried into England." They could not be brought to that, because Mary of Lorrain, the queen dowager, many of the nobility, and the whole clergy, were against it. Upon this, Henry made war with Scotland, in 1543, but missed of his design, which was to oblige the Scotch nobility to consent to the match, as the only way to unite the two nations. After his death, the duke of Somerset, the protector, continued the war to the fourth year of Edward VI. † That war cost England one million, four hundred and thirty-two thousand, nine hundred and ninety-seven pounds, eleven shillings and tenpence: a great sum in those days.

* Herbert, 444.—† Otho, E. 11.

After queen Mary was carried into France, the protector made peace with Scotland in 1550.

The second thing which made many in Scotland averse to the friendship of the French, was the change of religion in that kingdom in the minority of queen Mary, upon this they became jealous of France, and thought an alliance with them would be dangerous to their religion; they were afraid of the power of the house of Guise, for the queen dowager had then six brethren, viz. the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorrain, the duke d'Aumale, grand captain, the cardinal of Guise, the marquis d'Elbeuf, and the grand prior, four of them were remarkable for their military bravery, and had gained the reputation of excellent soldiers, all over Europe, besides that family managed the whole affairs of France. The protestant lords of Scotland thought it their interest to seek the assistance of queen Elizabeth; Lethington and Robert Melvill were sent to the court of England in 1559. Lethington, when he was admitted to his audience, in an eloquent * oration, complained, "that since queen Mary was married to the dauphin of France, the government of the kingdom was changed: Frenchmen had engrossed all posts of trust and profit, had got the strong holds of the kingdom into their hands, and although Scotchmen had titular offices, yet the French had the power: upon those and many other accounts, they had reason to believe they designed a conquest of Scotland." Queen Elizabeth, who saw it was not for

* Cambd. Hist. Q. Eliz. page 35.

her interest that the French should settle so near her, and besides, longing to be revenged upon Francis II. and queen Mary, for their taking the style and arms of the kingdom of England, at length resolved to send forces to assist the lords of the congregation, to drive the French out of Leith. The relief which was sent them from France in the fleet commanded by the grand prior, was ship-wrecked, which obliged the French to capitulate. Upon the news of this, the queen dowager, an excellent and prudent princess, died with grief. So the French were obliged to leave Scotland, by which queen Elizabeth established a party there, which was ever afterwards willing to be directed by her. When queen Mary returned to Scotland after her husband's death, queen Elizabeth always maintained that party to embroil all her affairs. Queen Mary at last was obliged to flee from Scotland, and came to England, being invited by queen Elizabeth, who promised always to do what she could towards her restoration, provided she did not seek aid from France, which queen Mary observed, till she saw it was in vain to expect help from her cousin, during her imprisonment in all the unsuccessful treaties for her liberty. Queen Elizabeth always made that an article, "that the league with France should be dissolved." Queen Mary and the lords of her party declared, "that seeing the Scotch nation had so great benefit by it, they could not well consent to renounce it, unless some equivalent advantage were proposed by queen Elizabeth; and the most they could do in that

case, was to suspend that league during the lives of the two queens."

3. But what above all ruined the French interest in Scotland, was the massacre of Paris in 1572, which will be an everlasting reproach to that nation: at that time queen Mary's party was very strong. Upon the news of this, queen Elizabeth, who knew well how to improve every thing to her own advantage, sent an ambassador to Scotland, who told the protestant lords, and considerable gentlemen of queen Mary's party, "that by that bloody cruelty, they might understand the genius of popery." So by degrees they made their peace with the regent; Grange would not acknowledge the regent's authority, but held out the castle against him: but queen Elizabeth sent artillery and forces, which obliged Grange to surrender. Lethington died the same year. This was the end of a long civil war. Cambden tells us, that upon this several officers and soldiers of both parties went over to Sweden, France, and the Netherlands, where they gained a great reputation for their military bravery.

In this king's reign the protestant religion began to be professed in Scotland, which alarmed the popish clergy, who by it foresaw the ruin of their absolute power over the consciences of the people, and that they were now in danger to lose those blessed times, when they could persuade kings and other rich persons, that what lands were made over to religious houses, as they called them, would certainly purchase salvation to the donor, and to his predecessors and successors. Scotland had one

king, viz. king David I. who founded fourteen monasteries, and erected four bishoprics; the priests in gratitude got him sainted, which signified no more, but an easy bigotted prince. King James I. of Scotland, called him "a sad saint to the crown." If we consider the extent of Scotland, no kingdom had more religious places than it, and some of them of magnificent architecture. At length the government began to be sensible that the priests, seeing they had a foreign dependance on Rome, were bad subjects; to prevent the consequences of which, we find several acts of parliament forbidding them to go to Rome without license from the king, or the chancellor of the kingdom; neither were they to go thither to obtain the collation of benefices in Scotland, as is evident from James I. parl. 7, act 106; James III. parl. 6, act 42; James III. parl. 11, act 84; king James IV. parl. 4, act 38; king James IV. parl. 5, act 53. The popish authors, as Lesly, Camerarius, Conæus and others, own, that when the change of religion began, many things contributed to the contempt of their clergy, of which these were most remarkable, viz. that by the ambition of the nobility, children were made bishops and abbots; that if any of their sons, by reason of imperfections either of body or mind, were incapable of civil business, they were made priests; that many of the rich abbots neglected their charge, and committed the management of their offices to others, whilst they in the meantime abandoned themselves to luxury and idleness; that the clergy at that time were deeply engaged in whore-

dom, for common harlots were frequently their domestics; and those who had solemnly devoted themselves to religion, spent most of their time both night and day in taverns, &c.: and even the nuns, those christian vestals, were often debauched by their priests. These things lessened the regard formerly paid to their order, bred discontents amongst the people, which prepared them to shake off their yoke. No doubt but in this change, as well as in other revolutions, interest and other passions had their share. To prevent that storm which threatened them, the popish clergy persuaded king James to persecute the protestants, as the way to atone for all his sins, and to secure the peace of his kingdom; they had but too much power over this prince, for when his uncle invited him to an interview, they represented how wicked a thing it was to have any conference with an excommunicated person, which in great measure hindered it. * The pope, to secure the obedience of this king, who was still a dutiful son of the church, sent over his legate Antonio Campeggio in 1535, who, with many ceremonies and apostolical benedictions, delivered him a cap, and a sword, consecrated the night of the nativity of our Saviour, that it might breed a terror in the heart of a wicked neighbouring prince, against whom the sword was sharpened. The pope in his letter to him complained of the affronts that Henry of England had done to the church of Rome by his divorce, the executing of cardinal Fisher, the bishop

* Drummond's history of this king.

of Rochester, &c. and that by patience she received more wrongs, and that now she was obliged to use a searing iron, for the application of which she had recourse to his majesty, whose aid she implored, seeing Henry deserved to be dethroned; therefore the pope desired the king of Scotland to undertake something for the defence of the church, worthy of a christian king, and himself. King James dissuaded the pope to excommunicate his uncle, and promised to endeavour what he could by letters or messages to reclaim him. * King James at that time took the title of "Defender of the Christian Faith," which offended his uncle Henry, because it was his title. The protestant religion made no great progress in this king's reign; but, in the minority of queen Mary, the protestants became a considerable body, and what above all things made the popish religion odious in Scotland, was the cruelty of the clergy: the cardinal of Lorrain and the duke of Guise were for violent persecuting methods, D'Oysel was recalled because he was suspected of Calvinism, and was succeeded by the bishop of Amiens, the pope's nuncio, afterwards a cardinal, and la Brosse, the ambassador, who complained to the queen regent that she used too much moderation to the heretics, who deserved to be punished with death and loss of their possessions. Mary of Lorrain, who knew the undaunted and fierce temper of the Scots, saw the danger of such proceedings, but she was gained over at last to those severe methods; and when-

* Herbert, 519.

ever she began to persecute, the lords of the congregation disowned her authority.

In this king's reign * gold mines were found in Crawfurd moor by the Germans, which afforded him great sums; they would not refine it in Scotland, but after they had bargained with the king, they carried over the ore with them to Germany. Besides those mines in Crawfurd moor, we have an account of others not far from it. † In king James IV.'s reign, the Scots did separate gold from sand by washing. In king James V.'s time, three hundred were employed for several summers in washing of gold, of which they got above a hundred thousand pounds of English money; by the same way the laird of Marchestone got gold in Pentland-hills; great plenty has been got in Langham water, fourteen miles from Leadhill-house, in Crawfurd moor, and in Megget water, twelve miles, and over Phinland, sixteen miles from that house; and in many other places, where pieces of gold of thirty ounces weight have been found, which were flat mixed with the spar, some with keel, and some with brimstone.

In this king's reign the order of the thistle was in great splendour; for he being honoured with the order of the garter from England, that of St. Michael from France, and the golden fleece from the emperor, he sent also his own order to those princes; he celebrated the festivals of them all, and set the arms of each prince, with their orders about them, over the gate of his palace of Lithgow,

* Lesly, Drummond.—† Otho, E. 10.

and erected his own in the midst, with the order of St. Andrew. May 29, 1687, at Windsor, king James VII. of Scotland renewed it: in the act for the reviving it, we have the account of its original; (but when the statutes of that order were first made, and the cognizances of the knights appointed, is not so certain). The records give this further account of that order, "that it consisted of twelve knights brethren, and a sovereign, in imitation of our Saviour and the twelve apostles, under the protection of St. Andrew and the holy virgin, for the defence of the christian religion; that it was evident from ancient histories, authentic proofs, records, and documents of that kingdom, that it continued in splendour for many hundred years, was worn by several foreign princes and kings, and honoured in all places of christianity till the reign of Mary queen of Scotland, when the splendour both of the church and monarchy fell into contempt; then the order with its ceremonies was extinguished; some of the knights, in rebellious contempt of queen Mary, laid the ensigns of that order aside, others of them fled to foreign countries." But in her majesty's patent for the reviving of it, December 31, 1703, the account of the disuse of it is not so reflecting upon the reformers; the words of the records are as follows: "the order of the thistle was very honourable all over Europe; but by the continued wars, and intestine troubles, after king James V.'s death, and two long successive minorities, the splendour of the crown was in many things, and

by many ways, clouded, and amongst others, the regard to this order lessened."

The oath of this order, in king James VII.'s time, was, "I shall fortify and defend the true christian religion to the utmost of my power; I shall be loyal and true to my sovereign the king, sovereign of this most ancient, and most noble order of the thistle, and the brethren of the order. I shall maintain the statutes, privileges, and honours, of the said order. I shall never bear treason about in my heart against our sovereign the king, but I shall discover the same to him: so help me God and the holy church." This oath was a little reformed by her majesty, for instead of the true christian religion, it is now the true protestant religion; and the holy church, at the end, was left out.

In king James V.'s life, our author has given a large account of the sufferings, bravery, and chastity, of the famous lady Jean Douglas, sister of the earl of Angus; we have in the Scotch history another instance of the courage and loyalty of a lady of the same family. In the reign of king James I. some wicked subjects had conspired against the life of the king, who was one of the best of princes: this lady, then one of the maids of honour, when she saw these murderers coming to assassinate the king, did run to the king's chamber door to shut it; but finding the bar taken away, thrust her arm in the place of it, and kept the door shut till the conspirators broke her arm in pieces, and entered the chamber, where they killed the king: so that family, which has had so

many men remarkable for bravery, has also had women, who, in spite of their sex, have been remarkable for their courage.

The second treatise amongst those miscellanies, is the navigation of king James V. round Scotland; * the author of it was Nicholas d'Arfeville, chief cosmographer of the French king. In 1546, the lord Dudly, the English admiral, invited him to England; Mr. John Ferrier, who continued Hector Boethius' history, assisted him to translate it into French, after which he presented it to Henry II. of France; the author, by the command of the French king, afterwards, in 1547, went with sixteen galleys commanded by the Sieur Leon Stroza, prior of Capua, and admiral of all the galleys of France, to besiege the castle of St. Andrews, which then held out, being garrisoned by those who had killed cardinal Beatoun. † Drummond gives this account of that voyage, "that king James sailed with five well-manned ships, and gave out that he designed to steer his course to France; but it is more likely he designed to try the behaviour of the great men of the kingdom in his absence; he arrived at Orkney, placed garrisons in some forts, and sailed about the islands of Sky and the Lewis; he surprised the chief of the clans of those highland islanders, whom he sent as hostages to the castles of Dunbarton and Edinburgh: and when, by the skill of one Alexander Lindsay his pilot, he had sounded the remotest rocks of his kingdom, he was driven by storms to land at St. Ninians, near

* See vol. iii. of this Collection. † Drummond, page 309.

Whitehorn in Galloway." This voyage did so terrify those islanders, that it brought long peace and quietness to those places afterwards. This active and brave prince, not only ventured his life in pursuing and apprehending robbers and highwaymen, which had been neglected in his minority, but his care extended to the most remote islands and rocks of his kingdom; by this voyage he humbled those leaders who thought they might set up for themselves, and exercise tyranny over their vassals and tenants. No doubt he had the advantage of the fishing of herrings and other fish in his view, which was made more easy, when the safest harbours amongst those dangerous rocks were discovered, the dangers and the way to avoid them shown, and a full account given of the distances and courses, and the points to which the tides flowed, and the times of full sea. This may be of considerable use to those who sail about those islands for fishing or otherways: it cannot fail to please the curious, being the navigation of a king, and never before published in the English tongue.

The third treatise in these miscellanies is the Chamæleon, * written by the famous Mr. George Buchanan against Lethington, and never before published: that he is the author of it, is evident from the testimony of Cambden his cotemporary, who † gives us this account of the matter, "that in 1573, Lethington was sent to Leith, where he died of sickness, yet not without suspicion of poison: a man amongst the Scots of greatest expe-

* See vol. ii. of this Collection.—† Hist. of queen Eliz. p. 198.

rience, and of an excellent wit, had it been less wavering." Upon which account George Buchanan his emulator, in a paper of his which he intituled the Chamæleon, sets him forth in his lifetime as one more mutable than the Chamæleon, and sharply taxeth him as a fickle colour changing enemy to the king's grandmother, his mother, Murray, the king himself, and to his country. The learned Sir Robert Sibbald, in his commentary on the life of Buchanan, says, Buchanan is the author of Chamæleon, but had not seen that paper. Their is a passage in it which determines this matter; for the author speaks of his being at the conference at York and Hamptoncourt; now it is certain that Buchanan was there, where Murray and his party had need of his eloquence and wit to accuse queen Mary. The lives and characters of great men are always instructing, when written by those who were capable of such a work: none doubt of Buchanan's ability, if we were equally certain of his impartiality; but to do him justice, he is not singular in giving that character of inconstancy and shifting parties to Lethington, for * Spotswood gives the same account of him: "Lethington," says he, "was displeased with the advancement of David Rizio to be secretary to queen Mary, because his credit was thereby impaired; yet being one that could put on any disguise on his nature, of all others he most fawned on this Italian." Page 196, he says, "that Lethington had a great hand in the discords betwixt queen Mary and her hus-

* Page 189.

band, and persuaded her to a divorce;" for says Spotswood "by his subtle flatteries he had got again into favour with the queen." * In another place, he says, "that Lethington had often changed his party." When he gives an account of his death in 1573, he says, † "that he was a man of a deep wit, great experience, and one whose counsels was held in that time for oracles; but variable and unconstant, turning and changing from one faction to another, as he thought it to be most for his interest: this greatly lessened his reputation, and failed him at the last." The author of the memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, published by Mr. Crawfurd, says, ‡ "that Morton was no stranger to Lethington's shifting temper, who was out of his element, but when his hand was in a plot." Though Buchanan makes Lethington a bad man, yet by the account he gives of him, we may easily see he has been a very great man; and in the sixteenth book of his history he owns, "that Lethington was a youth of a vast genius, and great learning." Queen Elizabeth, in an original letter || to the earl of Sussex, August 12, 1570, gives a very great character of Lethington; she is admirably well pleased with a letter that Sussex had written to him, and that in the affairs he had to negotiate with Lethington he had escaped his cunning, who says she, "is accounted the flower of the wits of Scotland." Randolph and others, who at that time wrote to Sussex, warned him to be cautious in his transactions with Lethington: and

* Page 244.—† Page 272.—‡ Page 273.—|| Cal. c. 2, fol. 225.

queen Elizabeth, by her ambassador in Scotland, used all possible means to bring him off from queen Mary's party which he managed; because she knew that his wit was still a source of new contrivances to make her uneasy. Buchanan in this paper tell us, "that it was Lethington who discovered all Murray's and his party's secrets to the bishop of Ross, queen Mary's ambassador, at the conference at York, for Murray durst not leave him behind him;" which is probable enough, seeing he went there against his will. The duke of Norfolk was blamed for this, the suspicion of which was the first reason why queen Elizabeth hated him, and it was one of the articles of his impeachment.

Buchanan was the first who reduced resistance of kings and queens to a system; his book, de Jure Regni apud Scotos, was written about the year 1567, which is clear both from the preface of it, as also by the dialogue itself, where it appears that then queen Mary was prisoner in Lochleven castle; for after he had spoken of Darnley's death, he says "si Reginam in Ordinem Redigi moleste ferunt, &c." Blackwood, who was his contemporary, in his Apologia pro Regibus, which he wrote to confute the dialogue de Jure Regni, &c. assures us, that it was in manuscript long before it was published. After this time many books were printed upon the same subject, as Stephani Junii Bruti vindiciæ contra Tyrannos, which was never published till the year 1581, though to conceal the author, in the title page it is said to be printed at Edinburgh, in 1579, but the true author was Hu-

bert Languet, a French protestant, as we are informed by Joannes Petrus Ludovicus, who wrote his life, printed in 1700. Bayle in his dictionary is of the same opinion. Hottomanni Franco Gallia, was also printed in 1581, and Mariana's book, de Regis et Regum Institutione, was not published till long after.

Buchanan's pen has procured him a great many enemies: no wonder that all the popish authors hate him, because both in his history and his poems he has exposed that party. Camerarius is his most bitter enemy, he always calls him a "profane person;" and in page 269 of his book de Fortitudine Scotorum, &c. says, "that he fled from Scotland because he was accused of Judaism, and had eaten the paschal lamb." Spondanus has the same story, *ad annum* 1539, and quotes Camerarius for it, who has given no vouchers to induce us to believe him. Lesly who had better opportunities to be acquainted with this, tells us nothing of it. Blackwood tells us, "that he fled from Scotland, because he was suspected to be guilty of treason," but not one word of his Judaism; for at that time he had disobliged the Franciscans by a poem of his, and they stirred up a great many enemies against him: if that story had been true, he had not been suffered to have lived three years at Bourdeaux; nor had got out of the prisons of the inquisition at Portugal: the ground of that scandal has been no other than this, he and some of his friends had been eating lamb before Easter, the malice of the priests could easily turn it into a paschal lamb, and make Judaism out of it. Garasse, Doctrine Curieuse,

page 50, makes an atheist of him, and that a little before his death he refused to pray to God, and said, "he knew no other prayer but a profane ode of Propertius's, which he repeated, and so died." We have more reason to believe Sir James Melvill, who frequently conversed with Buchanan, and was no great friend of his, who in his Memoirs, page 125, gives Buchanan the character of being a religious man. His dialogue, de Jure Regni, has made all that are for passive obedience and non-resistance his enemies; because there he treats sovereign princes with very little ceremony; and his Detectio Mariæ has displeased those who have any regard for the memory of Mary queen of Scots: his best friends have wished that he had written with more temper, and had given vouchers for what he asserts in his history. The Chamæleon was written originally in English, we have changed nothing.

THE

HISTORY

OF

The Life and Death

OF

JAMES THE FIFTH,

KING OF SCOTLAND;

TOGETHER

With the Tragical History

OF THE

RENOWNED LADY JEAN DOUGLAS, &c.

WHEN king James V. was twenty-four years old, his subjects addressed him, that now it was necessary for him to marry, because nothing would more effectually contribute to the safety of his person, the breaking the force of the present factions, and the settling the public peace, than children. Upon the report of this, four of the greatest princes of Europe most earnestly desired his alliance. Henry VIII. king of England, who had the same inclinations with his predecessors to annex Scotland to England, offered him the princess

Mary, his daughter by queen Catherine; and for that end he sent William Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk, to the court of Scotland, to negotiate an interview betwixt the two kings, that they might confer together about affairs that concerned their own peace, and that of their subjects; he assured the king, that upon the consummating of that marriage, his master would declare him his successor to the crown of England; and as a testimony of the sincerity of his intention, king James should immediately be created duke of York, and lieutenant-general of England. Nothing could be more desirable than this, which certainly would have put an end to the inveterate hatred betwixt the two kingdoms, which had occasioned so great expense of blood and treasure, in room of which a sincere amity would have followed. But unluckily at that time two kinds of persons had an ascendant over the spirit of that prince, who dissuaded him both from the match, and the interview. In the first place, the churchmen were afraid if that marriage had been concluded, the king would easily be persuaded to a change of religion, seeing already he was sufficiently displeased with the avarice of several of the pope's legates in Scotland, and according to the example of his uncle Henry VIII. he might be brought to establish the protestant religion, and abolish popery; so to prevent those consequences, they represented to the king, "that his mortal enemy, Henry VIII. had no other view, in desiring so earnestly that conference, but to ensnare him, and had a design upon his liberty; that it would be an instance of

extreme easiness and rashness, to endanger his crown, life, and liberty, for the sake of those amusing promises. They reminded him how barbarously his predecessor king James I. had been treated by Henry II. who, though he landed in England even in the time of a truce, was there detained prisoner eighteen years, and at last his subjects were forced to pay eighteen thousand crowns for his ransom; and seeing we are to measure mankind more by what has been, than what ought to be, it was needful to remember that king's never fail to improve all opportunities against their enemies; and that they have always a greater regard to satisfy their ambition, than to avoid the reproaches due to infamous and unjust actions.

"And from the time he fell into his uncle's power, he may expect to be entirely determined by his pleasure and humours. Further, that Henry not only intended to seize his person, and invade his kingdom; but above all, he designed to ruin his soul, and poison it with his own heresy, to which he was proselyted by the sinful liberty it allowed him to live according to his lusts; so it is no wonder that sensual princes are easily perverted to that error: and in fine, seeing his person, conscience, and kingdom, would be in visible danger, it was no ways safe for him to enter into any conference with such a politic and designing prince, who would use all possible means to seduce him from that faith, which was professed and taught in Scotland earlier than in any other kingdom in christendom." On the other hand, James Hamilton, earl of Arran, next heir to the crown,

used all his interest and endeavours to disappoint that interview, and defeat the designed alliance; so to disguise his true motive, he insinuated, "that the match with the princess Mary would not answer the end of it, which was, to have an heir to the crown as soon as possible; for because of her childhood she would not be marriageable for a long time, and that the marriage of an infant was not at all adviseable, in the case of a prince, who was already weary of a single life. It would be seen that his uncle's promises and performances were as contrary as falsehood and truth; in a word, that it was evident to all thinking people, that the king of England was chiefly moved to that match, that by it he might at any time more easily enter Scotland, to embroil the kingdom, and to contrive his pernicious designs." King James was so sensibly moved by those reasons, that he was over-persuaded to dismiss the English ambassadors, with acknowledgments of the great thanks he owed to his uncle Henry VIII. though in the mean time he did not give a positive refusal.

Immediately after, the emperor Charles V. dispatched his ambassador, Henry Godscallo, secretly from Toledo, to Edinburgh; the emperor had nothing more at heart at that time than to weaken France, which was the greatest obstacle to the progress of his victories, towards the compassing of which, it was most adviseable to endeavour to break the old alliance betwixt France and Scotland.

When Godscallo was admitted to the king's presence, he began his harangue thus: "This is

the peculiar advantage of illustrious virtue, that it engages even those who have not the happiness to be witnesses of it, to admire and love it; the reputation of your abilities has reached the ears of my master the emperor, though unacquainted with your person, which has induced him to send me to you, as a proof of the great esteem he has of your merit; upon that consideration he designs to honour you with his alliance, which he refused to other kings not inferior to you in power and valour, and for you he has reserved that favour. He offers you the choice of two persons, very dear to him, viz. madam Mary of Austria, his sister, widow of Lewis king of Hungary, or of madam Mary of Portugal, his niece, the daughter of his own sister, the lady Eleanor of Austria, both descended from the imperial EAGLE, who disdained alliance with any but with invincible hearts, such as yours is. Consider, Sir, that none of your predecessors had ever such an honour done them, that a triumphant emperor, who by his numerous and victorious armies, is a match for all the potentates of the earth, should court your alliance; not that he expects any aid from you by this marriage, but his only inducement is, to satisfy the great inclination he has to love and oblige you."

This haughty and insolent speech had certainly provoked the king to answer him in his own way, if reasons of state and prudence had not hindered him; so he practised that modesty, which a great prince ought to observe in all his actions, and excused Godscallo's behaviour, and imputed

it either to the genius of the nation, or to his education.

The king answered him very courteously, and told him, "that his interest and that of his people were inseparably united, so that it was no wonder if he could determine nothing in a matter, on which the happiness or misery of his subjects very much depended, without the advice of his nobility and chief ministers of state; but would so soon as possible convene them, to know their minds in that matter."

After this the king set out for Stirling, where he summoned the estates of parliament to meet him; when they were assembled, he communicated to them the emperor's proposals, which were debated publicly in parliament. The king then observed many, but chiefly the churchmen, to be very inclinable to that match, as the best expedient to preserve the peace of the kingdom. Amongst whom the archbishop of Glasgow, a man of experience and piety, being warmed with zeal for the public good, made the following speech: "Sir, it is criminal for us, next to the worship of God, to account any thing dearer than the person of our king, and the good of our country; upon which two, turns the small happiness this mortal life of ours is capable of; the relation betwixt which is such, that we cannot watch for the safety of the one, unless we provide for the preservation of the other, whence it comes that we are sharers in the good or evil that befals our kings; and on the other hand, our calamities impairs the strength of our sovereigns, and disarms their courage. Upon

this consideration, when in the time of your minority, we your subjects felt so sensibly the wrath of heaven, and suffered both by foreign and domestic wars, which so dispirited us, that we were upon the point of leaving our native country, and the sepulchres of our forefathers, and to travel to other nations, where we might die in peace, if we had not been restrained by the hopes we conceived, that your being of age, would put an end to our troubles, and that then you would strengthen your self with some honourable alliance, whereby we might be rescued from ruin. Now when we are possessed of that blessing which we so long wished for, and when such a victorious and powerful prince as the emperor Charles V. is desirous of your friendship, and offers you the choice of two fair and virtuous princesses of his family; what can now hinder that happiness, on which depends your glory, and our safety? Your neighbour, Henry VIII. is the declared enemy of your kingdom, and your consciences, and waits for an occasion to embroil the affairs of Scotland; and seeing he has miscarried in his designs to subdue our country: the prospect he has to sow his heresy amongst us, is some comfort to his malicious spirit. But so soon as he shall see you allied with the house of Austria, he will abandon all his enterprises against you, and turn his designs another way. We observe many families in this nation already infected with this heresy, who upon this marriage will think of returning to the church, or of retiring to England. In a word, seeing this match is so visibly necessary for the support of

your kingdom, and the cause of religion, therefore why should the discourses of those prevail upon you, who dissuade you from that alliance, either out of hatred to the Austrian family, or to promote their particular interests? How vain is it to be jealous, that the emperor designs to invade Scotland, and thinks by that match he shall have a pretence for such a design, seeing he has work enough nearer home for his victorious arms? If you delay the the embracing of those offers, Henry VIII. waits for an occasion to defeat that treaty, being enraged that you refused to marry his daughter; whose resentment may be dangerous at this time, when the kingdom is much weakened by a long minority, and former wars, and by the present parties and factions: do not therefore, Sir, delay that work, which is so much for the glory of God, the advancement of religion, the support of your crown, and the peace of your subjects."

This discourse made some impression upon the king; the rest of the counsellors observing the king's inclination, were upon the reserve, and declined giving their opinion, either because they would not discover that their sentiments differed from his, or that it is dangerous to give advice to young kings in the affairs of their marriage; for if every thing do not answer their expectation, those who recommended that match are sure to bear the blame; though frequently their pretended disappointment is rather to be attributed to their own inconstancy and fickle humour, than the unfaithfulness of their ministers. This reservedness displeased the king, who expected that their zeal

for the good of their country, would have made them speak their minds freely; and having shown his displeasure at their conduct, he peremptorily commanded Mr. Thomas Erskine, the master of requests, a person of great experience, and candour, to declare his opinion about the matches proposed by the emperor. In obedience to the king's command, Mr. Erskine made the following speech.

"If the regard due to your majesty had not hindered me to speak upon this affair without your express commands, you should have known my sentiments before this time. The proposed alliance with the emperor is extremely dangerous, and that the rather, because the bad consequences of it are not foreseen. None can deny that those offers by so great a prince are very much for your honour, notwithstanding which, you ought to consider the issue; for frequently pernicious designs lie hid under the colour of marriage. It is a long time, Sir, since ambition has banished true love and sincerity from the marriages of kings; for we see daily, that most princes have chiefly in their view, by such treaties, either their own interest, or the ruin of their new allies. You may be assured the emperor is not so disinterested in this matter as he pretends. His design is to draw you off from the French, your old allies, that he may the more easily attack you, when you are engaged by articles to give them no assistance. It is visible to every body, that these many years he has had nothing more at heart than the destruction of France, the greatest hinderance of the universal monarchy he has projected: his exorbitant ambition has no

bounds; for the end of one conquest is but a plausible pretext to begin another. And if desart and barren places, and the very distant rocks of the sea are not safe from his arms, you have no reason to think, but that he will also pretend some quarrel, that he may begin a war with you: for ambition is a savage beast which spares none; and frequently the nearest relations are most exposed to its fury. This obliges the father to have a watchful eye over the son, and frequently the tie of nature is not strong enough to restrain the son from robbing his father of his crown; and what may then be expected in the case of a more remote relation? Therefore you have no reason to trust in that alliance with the emperor; for reasons of state, and his own convenience, will certainly determine him more than alliances, or any other considerations. His pretended love to you is not so much the reason of that proposal (which he would be glad to have you believe) as his design to make a party in your kingdom, to entice your officers to desert your service, to disunite you from your ancient friends, and to sow the seeds of faction and division amongst your subjects, that when a fit opportunity shall offer, he may wrest the sceptre out of your hands; which he would never have attempted, if you had not entered into treaties and alliances with him. And suppose his designs are not so bad, his conduct in this matter shows, that he is afraid least you should reject his alliance, seeing he gives you the choice of two princesses, both of his blood, that you may be the less excusable if you refuse his offers. What treatment may you

expect from him after the marriage, when already, though their is no tie or treaty betwixt you, his ambassadors propose that affair with such haughty insolence, as if that you alone, and not the emperor, were to have honour by that alliance? we all know that EAGLE which Godscallo boasts of is the arms of the empire, which, being elective, if merit and valour gave as good a title to it as intrigue, solicitation, and cabals, you might bid as fair for it as himself. It is sufficiently apparent, that marriage, instead of being advantageous to you, will make all your neighbours jealous of you, and your allies suspicious, without any real assurance of assistance from him in your greatest necessity; and when you are attacked by your enemies, any aid you can expect from him will always come too late, whatever timely notice you give; his troops would no sooner land in your kingdom, but you must expect the same plunderings and ravages from them as from an enemy's. And how ridiculous is it to fancy, that the catholic faith professed in Scotland shall receive any support from that alliance? as if the Scots wanted to learn religion from them, who received the christian religion long before the Spaniards. Their lives are neither so exemplary, nor their eloquence so persuading, that we are in any want of their instructions: there are many princes in Europe whose alliance is more for your interest, for which, I hope, Sir, you will reserve yourself; the emperor's proposals flowing from such a selfish principle, can never advance the honour of God; and how can you expect any advantage by it, seeing it will infallibly

engage your person in constant dangers? and little satisfaction can your subjects reap from it; because your marriage will be so far from putting an end to their miseries, as they hoped it would, that it will only serve to increase them."

This discourse pleased the king so well that he was resolved immediately to give an audience of leave to the imperial ambassador, wherein he told him in a few words, You may acquaint your master the emperor, that I am very sensible of his affection by the offers he has made me; and that he conquers as much by his civilities as by his arms: the kind offers of his alliance has so gained upon me, that none of the princes of his own house can be more ready to please him than I am; but I hope he will excuse me, if I do not presently embrace these obliging offers; because I am not yet disengaged from the match proposed by the king of England before your coming to this country. I desire you to assure the emperor, that upon all occasions I shall testify the sense I have of this great favour.

Scarcely had Godscallo left the kingdom, when Christiern II. king of Denmark, sent to him, to know if he were content to marry either the lady Dorothy his eldest daughter, or the lady Elizabeth of Austria, the emperor Charles V.'s sister; notwithstanding she had been pre-contracted to Frederic, elector palatine of the Rhine; for this king had more regard to his interest than to his promise. The beauty, and other accomplishments of this lady were such, that king James had certainly consented to marry her, if he had not been unwil-

ling to displease the emperor who was guarrantee of the treaty of marriage betwixt her and the elector.

Whilst those designs, which heaven blasted, were contriving against France, Francis I. on his part neglected nothing that was necessary to preserve the ancient alliance with Scotland; and king James on his part, to show the affection he had to France, resolved at last to match with some of the royal family of that kingdom, from whence he could expect the surest assistance when his affairs wanted it. For this end he sent his ambassadors to France, viz. James earl of Murray, his bastard brother, William Stuart, bishop of Aberdeen, John Erskine, and Robert Reists, to negotiate a marriage betwixt him and the lady Magdalen of France; the French king received them courteously, but was greatly at a loss what to do in that matter, seeing the design of the marriage was to tie the two kingdoms together by a more close alliance: he was afraid that both their enemies would make use of that match as a handle to disunite them, because king James could not promise himself any children by his daughter, who was a sickly lady, so in the end would rather prove the occasion of indifference betwixt them: Francis therefore proposed to the ambassadors a match betwixt their master and the lady Mary of Bourbon, the daughter of Charles duke of Vendosme; the ambassadors refused to treat about it without instructions from king James, so desired time to acquaint him with the proposal, and to know his pleasure.

Now whilst king James waited for news from his ambassadors, his kingdom being then in perfect peace, this active prince not loving to stay long in one place, resolved, under colour of visiting his ports and havens, to sail round his kingdom, even to the Western Isles, that he might constrain some gentlemen there to be better subjects, who living at a great distance from the court, and that in places naturally fortified and strong, thought they might be dispensed with as to any obedience to their sovereign. Upon his arrival he ordered the building of two forts, the one upon his own charge, the other at the expense of the bishop of the isles, to curb the violent and ungovernable temper of the inhabitants; after that he obliged the principal men of those isles to come and swear allegiance to him; those who had continued in their duty had liberty to return home, only they were to pay yearly some small taxes to the king; those who had been rebels, were either forced to give hostages for their good behaviour for the future, or to follow his majesty, who sent some of them to the castle of Edinburgh, and the rest to Dunbarton, which John Stuart, lord d'Aubigny, had delivered to him a little time before by order of the king of France; for till then it was garrisoned by Frenchmen.

This voyage being happily concluded, when the king was come to Edinburgh, he received letters from his ambassadors, in which they acquaint him with the kind reception they had received at the court of France; for the French king told them, that he should be glad of the ho-

nour of that alliance, but only was sorry that his eldest daughter was sickly, his other daughters were too young, and at present there were none of his relations that were worthy of that honour, except the lady Mary of Vendosme, an admirable and charming princess of the blood royal. They said, they could not give any answer to that proposal, because they were limited by their instructions. This account of affairs made the king very melancholy; sometimes he doubted lest some selfish views in the earl of Murray, and the bishop of Aberdeen, might incline them to embarrass that match; at another time, the confidence he had in John Erskine, and Robert Reists, made him easy; because he was sure they would not betray the trust reposed in them, but would use all possible application towards the accomplishing the desired match: notwithstanding, to prevent delays, and considering that the great reason why the matches of most princes are so unhappy, is, because they never see their queens before marriage, he determined to go over to France, and to court in person: but the great heats at that time obliged him to defer his voyage till they were a little abated.

In the mean time, he observed that the opinion of Luther increased extremely in Scotland, and believed it was his duty utterly to extirpate the protestant religion, lest if he delayed that necessary work, as he supposed, it might in the end supplant and banish popery, which he accounted the foundation of his authority; some took the freedom to tell him, "that heresy was a scourge sent

from heaven upon the souls of men for the punishment of their sins, and that all persecution was in vain, seeing the distemper was within the soul, which could not be reached by any human means; for it belonged only to God to move and convert the mind: so that methods of arguments, and gentleness, were more likely to gain upon the spirits of men, than those of persecution, rage and fury, seeing error was the effect of human frailty; that after he had used rational means of conviction, he ought to wait for the blessing of God upon such laudable endeavours: so that the least he could do in that case was to grant a toleration to the protestants." Others on the contrary spake thus to the king: "that it was impious to suffer a plurality of religions, which was contrary to the unity of the divine nature; that God would be worshipped with one heart, and after the same uniform manner; the tranquillity and peace of kingdoms could not be firmly established, where the true way of worshipping God was not fixed and determined, without any toleration granted to heretics; otherwise the persons of kings would be in perpetual danger: for when the quarrel of religion has divided your subjects into factions, and enraged them against each other, bigotry shall so prevail upon them, that they shall be regardless even of death itself, every day your sacred person shall be in danger from some desperate devotee, who shall think it his duty to be your sworn enemy, because you are not of his belief. What is more frequent than murder and assassinations where different sects prevail? For each is per-

suaded that the truth is only to be found with their party, they think that the cause of religion will bear them out, in killing those whom they account blasphemers of God: but on the contrary, where the same religion is unanimously professed, the subjects are more governable and peaceable, and more observing and obedient to the laws of their sovereigns. Nothing can so effectually unite the affections of your subjects, or so forcibly dispose them to a continuance in their duty to your majesty, and prevent rebellion, than an uniformity in worship and doctrine; this should oblige you to defend the catholic religion, seeing the crown and it have inseparably been conveyed to you from your ancestors: and if kings will not allow that any should share in their dignities but themselves, neither is it tolerable that the service and worship of God should be prophaned and deserted. In fine, though it is reasonable to make serious addresses to heaven, that God may be pleased to root out heresy out of the hearts of men; yet whilst we wait for that blessing from above, it is necessary, in the mean time, to make use of the secular arm to chastise the ringleaders of heresy, that the fear of punishment may preserve the minds of your people from the infection of error."

Those reasons prevailed upon the king, upon which he published severe and rigorous laws against all protestants within his dominions, and established a court of inquisition, the judges whereof were to make strict search for all those that professed the new religion; many were discovered, who were cruelly put to death, the king hoping

that those severe measures would certainly extirpate the protestant religion.

During those cruelties, Henry VIII. who had renounced all obedience to the pope, and had embraced the doctrines of Luther, sent the bishop of St. Davids to his nephew king James, with books printed in England, which contained an accouut of the principles of the religion then established there. He hoped that by the reading of them king James would be persuaded to disown the pope's authority. In his letters he earnestly intreated his nephew to read those books carefully without prejudice, which he refused to do, till he had first got them to be examined by learned and religious men, who upon perusing them, reported that they contained nothing but lies and impostures, and heartily thanked God that his majesty had escaped that snare which his uncle had laid for him, and that he would not pollute his eyes with the reading such dangerous books.

At this time robberies were so frequent upon the highways, that all business and trade was at a stand; this was owing to the negligence of the sheriffs, who suffered robbers and thieves to escape unpunished. To put an end to those disorders, the king established a justiciary court at Jedburgh.

The king now being uneasy with impatience, because his ambassadors were not like to conclude the marriage with that despatch he wished for, notwithstanding the inconveniencies of the season, resolved to sail for France, and having given orders that a fleet should be ready, he went a-board

at Leith, together with the great ministers of his court, without owning whither he was bound; many thought he designed to go into England to visit his uncle, and now repented, that the former year he refused an interview with that king; they were scarcely got out of the haven, when a storm began to rise, and the wind turned contrary: upon this the pilot asked the king which way they should steer their course? he answered, "whither you please except to England." This convinced them all that the king designed for France, which was impracticable at that time, because of the contrary winds; which, when the king understood, he chose rather to sail round the coasts of his kingdom, and try if they could have better passage by St. George's channel, than to put in again at Leith; neither did that succeed, for still the storm increased, which made those who attended him bethink that it was safest to return home, and not expose their king's and their own life to visible danger; and that it was fool-hardiness to struggle with the unrelenting winds and waves; that there was no need for such haste, and that they might lie in some harbour till the storm was over, without any prejudice to the king's affairs: so whilst the king was asleep they tacked about, and sailed for the coasts of Scotland: when the king awakened he was in a great rage, and never pardoned those who advised the sailing back to Scotland; he blamed Sir James Hamilton chiefly for this, whom he hated before, because he killed the earl of Lennox. Sir James' enemies, to inflame the king the more against him, suggested,

that he was very far from being a dutiful subject; that all his pretences of loyalty were only hypocrisy; for his only design in accompanying his majesty was to defeat the design of the voyage.

When the bad weather was over, the nobility who were with the king, in complaisance to his majesty, desired him to think of sailing with the first fair wind, which he did, and setting sail from Scotland on the first day of September, ——, he landed at Dieppe ten days after, and went incognito to Vendosme, to see the lady Mary of Vendosme, where he was satisfied that she was an excellent and well accomplished princess, and that fame had not been too favourable to her; but seeing he had had the choice of three princesses, al daughters of kings, he thought he could not in honour marry one of a lower degree; so he left Vendosme, and had still the disposing of his own heart, notwithstanding the charms of that fair lady, and went straight for Paris to meet with the French king, whose coming was a surprisal to the court. The king, who knew nothing of it till about two hours before he saw him, immediately went to meet him and welcome him to Paris, being accompanied with all the nobility then at court, and received him with all that grandeur and honour that king James could desire. He had not been long at Paris before the lady Magdalen owned that she loved him: he desired the king her father to agree to the match, and said, he hoped that the change of air, and more years, would confirm her in perfect health, and doubted not but he should have children by her. The French king consented to

the match, and told him, there was nothing that he could deny the king of Scotland: so the marriage was solemnized with all the pomp and ceremony imaginable.

Some days after, the present posture of affairs obliged the two kings to take leave of each other; at parting they gave all possible assurances of mutual and perpetual affection and friendship, for at that time the Imperialists ravaged Piedmont and Picardy, and king James was afraid lest Henry VIII. might embroil his affairs in his absence: so king James and his queen set out for Scotland, having with them a great number of French ships. When they arrived in Scotland, they were received with the universal joy of their subjects, but as in human life our gladness is still allayed with sorrow, so this joy was short lived, and was interrupted by the great grief occasioned by the death of the young queen, who lived only six months after her landing in Scotland; for the sea air, and the fatigue of the voyage, had occasioned her sickness. There was such an universal and real grief over all the kingdom, upon the news of her death, that to testify the sense the court, and other persons of note, had of the great loss, they went into mourning, which was the first time that ever that custom was used in Scotland.

After the funeral ceremonies were over, king James was more desirous than ever of children, and was unwilling to live any time a widower; he cast his eyes upon the lady Mary of Lorrain, sister to Francis duke of Guise, a famed general, and the widow of the duke of Longueville; for

the charming virtues of that lady had made a mighty impression upon his heart during his stay in France.

Whilst the ambassadors were a-going to France to desire the lady Mary of Lorrain in marriage for the king, he was alarmed with many false accusations of innocent persons, as if guilty of plots against his life; the first remarkable person who suffered by the villany of those informers was one John Forbes, a young gentleman of great courage, and of a good family, but had always lived a vicious and scandalous life, which made people believe the more easily, that one of his character would stick at no crime: he had been managed of a long time by one Strachan, a wicked fellow of a mean birth, who was a sharer in all his debaucheries. Forbes found by experience, how dangerous the society of villains is. This Strachan, besides his other vices, was a covetous wretch, he demanded from Mr. Forbes some gift which he could not conveniently grant; upon which refusal, Strachan was so displeased that he meditated revenge, became his enemy, and to compass his malicious designs more effectually, he went to the earl of Huntly, Mr. Forbes' mortal enemy, where they jointly contrived his ruin. They accused Mr. Forbes that of a long time he had a design to murder the king; they hired knights of the post, who were evidences against him, who swore, that then he waited only for a fit opportunity to assassinate his majesty. Though those witnesses were men of bad characters, and their evidence did not prove the impeachment, nevertheless he was found

guilty, and condemned to death; for the judges thought that the very intention to kill the king deserved it. But God permitted him to come to that untimely end, as a punishment for his former sins; "for though iniquities are not immediately chastised, yet at length men's sins find them out, and when they are most secure, and least expect the wrath of heaven, they fall into snares which complete their ruin."

The judges found Strachan guilty of misprision of treason, because he had so long concealed such a horrid crime, which they thought he would not have done if he had not been equally guilty in the plot; but though he deserved death more than Mr. Forbes, yet all his punishment was only banishment: he retired to Paris, where he followed still the same dissolute debauched way of living. King James, for reasons best known to himself, was sorry for Mr. Forbes' death when it was too late, because he thought he might be useful in some secret services; for bad men are as necessary in the body-politic, as bad humours are in the body-natural: to testify his concern, he made his second brother a gentleman of his bedchamber, and married the third to a great fortune, and gave him back his brother's estate which was forfeited.

This punishment was immediately followed by another very lamentable one, if we either consider the quality of the persons accused, or the nature of their pretended crimes; but most of all deplorable for the too great severity of the punishment.

Jean Douglas, the sister of Archibald earl of Angus, who then lived an exile in England, was

the most renowned beauty of Britain, at that time; she was of an ordinary stature, not too fat, her mien was majestic, her eyes full, her face was oval, and her complexion was delicate and extremely fair. Besides all these perfections, she was a lady of a singular chastity; as her body was a finished piece, without the least blemish, so heaven designed that her mind should want none of those perfections a mortal creature can be capable of; her modesty was admirable, her courage was above what could be expected from her sex, her judgment solid, her carriage was gaining and affable to her inferiors, as she knew well how to behave herself to her equals: she was descended from one of the most honourable and wealthiest families of Scotland, and of great interest in the kingdom, but at that time eclisped; she was married to John Lion, lord Glammes, a discreet and valiant nobleman, who died in the bloom of his youth, and left a son behind him by their marriage: she continued a widow some years after. During which time, several of the best families of the kingdom courted her; but a gentleman named Archibald Campbell, had the honour and happiness to gain her love, he had a good estate, and was of a good family, and commanded the third squadron of king James' army. Now this gentleman, who equally admired her beauty and virtue, made his addresses to her with all possible respect, at length she owned she loved him, so they were married to both their satisfactions.

William Lion, a near relation of her first husband, and one of her former suitors, not being

able to stifle his former flame, nor dissemble his rage and discontent for the loss of her, became almost frantic upon this disappointment; and though he was so unhappy as to lose her, yet he did not forbear his addresses, hoping still, that in recompense of his painful attendance, she would grant him some favours.

This beautiful lady repulsed him with disdain, and told him, that the reason why she formerly treated him with civility, was more owing to his relation to her last husband, and to her son, than to any regard to himself; but now, seeing he had designs upon her honour, she hated the sight of him; for he might be assured that she would never comply with his criminal and brutal desires.

This resolute and virtuous refusal distracted him, and not knowing what to answer, sometimes he complained of her severe virtue; at another time he told her, the great love he had for her was the occasion of his addresses: he blamed her also for her ingratitude, as if, in complaisance to him, she ought to throw away all regards to chastity; in fine, he told he had lost all his time and endeavours. This interview was spent in complaints, intreaties, reproaches, and threatenings; after which he departed and never visited her more. From that time his love, or rather lust, was changed into rage and revenge; his thoughts were divided, whither he should kill her himself, or contrive some plot against her life; the first seemed unworthy of his courage, whereas the latter required very nice conduct, and too long a delay, seeing he was enraged to that degree, that he

thirsted for present revenge; but at last the latter carried it.

So the passion of love being succeeded by that of vengeance, he was brooding over his resentment for some months, at last he lights upon one of the blackest contrivances that hell could suggest, viz. he accused this lady, her son, her husband, and one John Lion, an aged priest, and his own near relation, as guilty of a design to poison the king. This was the most unlikely thing in the world, if we consider the characters and conversation of the persons accused, who lived for the most part in the country at a great distance from court, and seldom had an occasion of seeing the king; however, upon this, those innocent persons were apprehended and imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, and their goods were seized, with a strict charge to the judges of the justice-court to proceed to their trials.

William Lion, the accuser, who had the ear of the jealous king, used all his rhetoric to aggravate the matter, and that he might dispose the king to treat them with all possible cruelty, he represented, "that the family of Douglas had always been dangerous and troublesome to his predecessors, and even to himself and his kingdom; and reminded him of the insolent behaviour of Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, the brother of the prisoner, in the time of his majesty's minority, whose practices were so pernicious, that by a public decree he was banished the kingdom as a disturber of the peace of his native country; that since that time he was become the subject of Henry king of

England, his majesty's enemy, and was now the incendiary betwixt the two kingdoms, and advised all the inroads that were made from England upon Scotland; and that, seeing he could not be restored to his honours and fortune, without great difficulty, revenge incited him to plot all the mischief possible against the king's person; and who could he employ for compassing such wicked designs more fit than his own sister, who was obliged to secrecy by the ties of blood? That he engaged her in that conspiracy, thinking that her sex, character, and birth, would make her the less suspected: therefore, if his majesty had any regard either to his interest or safety, it was necessary to exterminate that race which produced nothing but monsters of rebellion, and especially that woman, whom if he spared, he would put it in her power to accomplish her wicked designs."

This discourse found too easy a belief with the king, who was naturally jealous and suspicious, and was wholly ignorant of the hatred which William Lion bore to that lady; upon which he ordered that they should be put upon their trial in all haste, so that small regard was had either to their characters, birth, or defences they made. Before the judges gave sentence, this lady was brought to the bar according to custom, that they might hear what she could say for herself: she knew well enough that her misfortunes proceeded from her near relation to the earl of Angus. When she had answered to all the the questions which the judges asked, with the greatest courage and

boldness imaginable, she delivered the following speech:

"Those who hate the merit of my brother are enraged because he is not in their power, that he might fall a sacrifice to their malice, and they now discharge their spite upon me, because of my near relation to him; and to gratify their revenge with my blood, they accuse me of crimes which, if true, deserve the severest death. But seeing it is the only prerogative of God to punish men or women for the faults of others, which belongs to no judge on earth, who are obliged to punish every one according to their personal crimes, you ought not to punish in me the actions of my brother, how blameable soever; above all, you ought to consider if those things I am accused of have the least appearance of truth imaginable; for what gives the greatest evidence either of the guilt or innocence of an impeached person, is their former life. What fault could any hitherto lay to my charge? Did any ever reproach me with any thing that is scandalous? Examine, I intreat you, my former conversation, vice hath its degrees as well as virtue, and none can attain to a perfection in either, except by long use and practice; and if you can find nothing reprovable in my conduct, how can ye believe that I am arrived all of a sudden to contrive this murder, which is the very height and perfection of impiety? I protest I would not deliberately injure the most despicable wretch alive; could I then make the murder of my sovereign, whom I always reverenced, and who never did me any wrong, the first essay of my wickedness? None

are capable of such damnable and unnatural actions, except two sorts of persons, viz. those of desperate fortunes who are weary of their lives, or those who are hurried into them by revenge; my birth, and manner of life, puts me beyond the suspicion of the first kind; and for the latter, seeing I was never injured by the king, how can I be suspected to thirst for any revenge? I am here accused for purposing to kill the king, and to make my pretended crime appear more frightful, it is given out, that the way was to be by poison. With what impudence can any accuse me of such wickedness, who never saw any poison, nor know I any thing about the preparation of it? can any say they ever saw me have any of it? let them tell me where I bought it; or who procured it me. And though I had it, how could I use it, seeing I never came near the king's person, his table nor palace? It is well known, that since my last marriage with this unfortunate gentleman, I have lived in the country, at a great distance from the court; what opportunity could I ever have then to poison the king? You may see by those circumstances, which give great light in such matters, that I am intirely innocent of those crimes I am charged with: it is the office of you judges to protect injured innocence; but if the malice and power of my enemies be such, that whether innocent or guilty I must needs be condemned, I shall die cheerfully, having the testimony of a good conscience; and assure yourselves that you shall certainly find it more easy to take away my life, than to blast my reputation, or to fix any real blot upon

my memory. This is my last desire of you, that I may be the sole object of your severity, and that those other innocent persons may not share in my misfortunes. Seeing my chief crime is, that I am descended of the family of Douglas, there is no reason that they should be involved in my ruin; for my husband, son, and cousin, are neither of that name, nor family. I shall end my life with more comfort if you absolve them, for the more of us that suffer by your unjust sentence, the greater will be your guilt, and the more terrible your condemnation when you shall be tried at the great day by God, who is the impartial judge of all flesh, who shall then make you suffer for those torments to which we are unjustly condemned."

This admirable speech, which was spoken with such boldness and manly courage, astonished the judges extremely, and when they had reasoned upon what she had alledged in her own defence, they determined, before they gave sentence, to send two of their number to the king, and to represent to him, that though the witnesses had proved the articles of impeachment, and that, according to the law of the land, upon this evidence she deserved death, yet, upon a serious consideration of the whole circumstances of the matter, they could not perceive the least probability of her guilt: they were afraid lest the rigour of the law in this case should prove the height of injustice, therefore they wished rather that equity and mercy should take place, it being more safe to absolve a criminal, than to condemn an innocent person; that time alone could discover the truth of the

matter, by making known the character of those witnesses who had sworn against her, whether they were men of honesty, or had been bribed to accuse her; that nothing was so adviseable as to delay the whole affair for some days, which could be no danger to the king, seeing those persons were not to have their liberty; but whenever they could perceive any presumptions of their guilt, they should not escape justice: as for themselves they were tied up to the formalities and letter of the law, it belonged only to his majesty to temper and moderate the severity of it by his clemency, upon which account they addressed themselves to him, seeing in such cases wherein the life, honour, and estates of persons of distinction are concerned, all possible caution is necessary.

The king, who was naturally merciful enough, had yielded to this reasonable request, if Lion, who had contrived that hellish plot, and was afraid, if they had escaped, his wickedness would be discovered, had not prevailed with the king to give this answer to the judges: "that the exercise of justice was a considerable part of the royal dignity, which he had entrusted them with when he made them judges; that it belonged to their office to preserve the innocent, and punish the guilty; that the book called Regiam Majestatem, contained all the forms and rules which ought to determine them in such cases; wherefore he gave them full power to proceed in that business according to justice, and the laws of the land; and said, he knew of nothing that could hinder them from doing their duty like men of honour."

Upon receiving that answer, those that were sent to wait upon the king, returned to the exchequer, where the court of justice then sat, and reported to the rest of the judges, what the king had given them in charge; upon which the judges gave sentence against that lady, which was, that she was to be led out to the place of execution, and there to be burnt alive till she was dead. A little time after the sentence, she was delivered into the hands of the executioner, to be led out to suffer; the constancy and courage of this heroine is almost incredible, which astonished all the spectators: she heard the sentence pronounced against her without the least sign of concern, neither did she cry, groan, or shed a tear, though that kind of death is most frightful to human nature. When she was brought out to suffer, the people who looked on could not conceal their grief and compassion; some of them who were acquainted with her, and knew her innocence, designed to rescue her; but the presence of the king and his ministers restrained them: she seemed to be the only unconcerned person there, and her beauty and charms never appeared with greater advantage than when she was led to the flames, and her soul being fortified with support from heaven, and the sense of her own innocence, she outbraved death, and her courage was equal in the fire, to what it was before her judges; she suffered those torments without the least noise, only she prayed devoutly for divine assistance to support her under her sufferings: thus died this famous lady with a courage

not inferior to that of any of the heroes of antiquity.

The day following her disconsolate husband, designing to make his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, was let down over the walls by a cord, which happening to be too short, he fell upon the rocks, where he was dashed to pieces. The king was very sad upon hearing of that lamentable accident, and immediately ordered that Lion, the old priest, should have his liberty, because his great age made him incapable of any such design; as for the young lord Glamis, though his childhood was sufficient proof of his innocency, yet he was kept still in prison, from whence he was not released till after the king's death.

Those who make any reflections upon the tragical history of this unfortunate lady may observe, that great beauty frequently exposes women to danger, and often proves a snare and curse, rather than a blessing; seeing most men who behold them become passionate admirers of them, whereas it is only in such virtuous lady's power to make one man happy; the other less fortunate rivals, missing that bliss they impatiently longed for, sometimes their disappointed love degenerates into revenge and fury, which proves the cause of great misfortunes to those beautiful females.

William Lion, after this virtuous and incomparable lady had fallen a victim to his fury, whenever he began to think cooly upon the wickedness he had done, was so filled with horror, that he was not able to endure the lashes of his awakened conscience; he lamented when it was too late, that

his malice had occasioned the loss both of the lives and fortunes of those who were his near relations; so that having confidence in the king's mercy, he confessed the whole matter secretly to him. The king abhorring such frightful wickedness, banished him from the court, and designed his punishment should be answerable to his guilt; but affairs of greater concern which happened immediately after, made the king forget that matter.

At length the king heard from his ambassadors cardinal Beaton and Robert Maxwell, then at the court of France, that his marriage was concluded, very much to the satisfaction of the French king, and all his court, and that they designed to set out in a little time from France, and to bring with them the lady Mary of Guise; from that time he thought of nothing but of his amours, and of making preparations for his queen's honourable reception.

Monsieur D'Annebault, admiral of France, was ordered to wait upon her from the court to Dieppe, with a great number of the nobility of the best quality in the kingdom, where she went aboard about the beginning of June, 1538. A great number of French ships conducted her to Balcomy in Scotland, where the earl of Murray and other Scotch noblemen were sent to wait upon her; after she had stayed there some days, and had taken leave of the French noblemen who attended her, she was brought to St. Andrews in great state, where the marriage was solemnized with all possible rejoicing.

The great merit of the new queen was so re-

remarkable, that she was admired and loved by all her subjects; her prudence, and love to the king, gained his heart intirely, and to complete his happiness, she brought forth a son the first year of their marriage, at St. Andrews; and the next year she had another son at Stirling, upon which the king admired her to that degree, that he advised with her in all affairs of state: she was a lady of great wit, and was reputed a princess not inferior to any at that time, either for beauty, courage, or prudence.

Hitherto all things went well with king James, who was arrived to that height of prosperity, that he had nothing to wish for; having children by his marriage, was loved by his subjects, and feared by his enemies: but frequently adversity is nearer prosperity than we expect, thus it was with this king, for all of a sudden he experienced the reverse of fate, and was immediately attacked with so many and various troubles, that whenever he thought to disengage himself from any of them, he was overpowered with new ones which defeated all his endeavours.

The first mortification he met with, proceeded from his bad conduct, which lost him the affections of his subjects; for when he saw he had two sons, and that there was no fear he should want heirs to succeed him in the throne, he began to undervalue his nobility, and upbraided them with want of courage, and that they had degenerated from the valour and military bravery of their ancestors: he reminded them of the dishonourable defeat at Floddon, where they gave small proof of

their regard to the king his father, or concern for the honour of their country: he told them, if they were willing, he had inclination to revenge his father's death upon Henry VIII. and to retrieve the ancient reputation of the kingdom. He found them not very forward to engage in any such matters; for those reproaches had so much alienated their affections from him, and enraged them, that they deserted his service, when he had most need of their help: for of all things, what can more highly provoke haughty spirits than disdain?

The kingdom was then at peace, the Protestants, who were at that time a very numerous body, and increased daily, were so displeased with what they suffered upon the account of their religion, that they had certainly taken up arms to get their grievances redressed, if they had had any nobleman of note to head them. The king knew that well enough, but his affairs were then so embroiled, that he was obliged to dissemble his displeasure at them, and waited till he had extricated himself from his present difficulties, as a more fit season to mortify them; his treasury was then very much exhausted because of his extraordinary expense, by his marriages, and his many new buildings, so that he wanted money extremely; the most ready way was, either to lay a tax upon the clergy, or upon the nobility; both of them desired to be excused from that hardship, and enlarged upon their own poverty, and the riches of the other estate.

Now Henry VIII. who had not forgotten that he had been affronted by king James, who refused to marry his daughter, and to have an interview

with him, was determined to try if he could by subtilty persuade him to meet him in England, otherwise, upon refusal, he should have a specious colour for beginning a war: he sent his ambassador to king James, to desire him to come to York, where he would meet him, and that they might confer friendly together about affairs that related to the peace of both their kingdoms, and conclude a lasting peace; for what could be more for both their glory, than to put a period to the ancient hatred and animosity betwixt their two kingdoms, which had occasioned the effusion of so much christian blood? that instead of those national and hereditary quarrels, a firm and sincere friendship might be established betwixt the two crowns.

Many of the peers of the kingdom, and who had great interest with the king, were protestants, and used all possible arguments to persuade him to go and see his uncle, who, they assured him, had then all the inclination imaginable to receive him with the utmost demonstration of love and friendship; there was not the least cause of fear that his person would be in any danger, for they had all the reason in the world to believe that that interview would procure a well-grounded peace betwixt the two kings and their subjects. But what above all things made them long for that meeting was, that they knew that Henry VIII. was a prince of a very moving eloquence, so they hoped their king would be gained upon to choose the king of England for his ally, rather than any other prince, and hoped he might be induced by

his uncle to make a change of religion in his kingdom, as he had began to do in his.

But upon the other hand the clergy foreseeing how much that interview threatened the downfall of their authority, employed the utmost of their skill to defeat it; for they told the king, they were assured that a toleration to the protestants would be the least effect of it. To dissuade the king they used all the arguments which they had employed upon a like occasion, "that his majesty was not to trust to safeconducts, seeing Malcolm, and William his brother, both kings of Scotland, by trusting to such securities, had lost their liberty, and were made prisoners by Henry II. of England, and carried to Guyenne, where the English were at war with France, that he might oblige them to renounce the old alliance with that kingdom. The misfortunes of his predecessor king James I, might teach him caution and wisdom in such affairs; and if his uncle had broke his engagements to heaven, and was an apostate from the truth, what human tie could bind him? Those considerations might prevail with his majesty to avoid the snares of his enemy: but if his uncle should be so enraged with this refusal that it should be the occasion of a war with England, they promised him as much money as should be necessary to defray the charges of it; besides, they promised to pay him yearly thirty thousand crowns, and if at any time his affairs required more money, than they would willingly contribute as far as their revenues would go for his assistance: provided his majesty would allow the laws to be put in execution against those

who had scandalously renounced all obedience to the Holy See, and despised its ordinances, and now avowedly professed Lutheranism: they desired his majesty, as the only way to stop the course of that growing mischief, he would allow them to seize the goods and estates of those who should for the future be convicted of that heresy, which they thought would amount to a yearly rent of a hundred thousand crowns, which they said might be annexed to the king's revenue; so they hoped his majesty would appoint such judges as were men of courage and resolution, and would go through-stitch with such a godly work."

The king was so sensibly touched with this address from the clergy, that he laid aside all thoughts of an interview with his uncle the king of England, not so much upon the account of the money they offered him, as to please the queen, who declared, that she was averse to that journey, because the danger of it overbalanced any prospect they could have of advantage; she knew that the king did not love his uncle, neither could he disguise his aversion, so feared that his open and frank temper would widen the breach betwixt them.

He made Sir James Hamilton, bastard brother of the earl of Arran, judge of this court of inquisition which was to be erected. This choice mightily pleased the churchmen, because he was a declared enemy to the protestants, and his interests were inseparable from those of the clergy. This commission proved his ruin; for the protestants perceiving how dangerous an enemy he should prove,

for that now his malice was armed with power; they laid a trap for him which he could not escape: James Hamilton, brother of Mr. Patrick Hamilton who suffered for the protestant religion, after he had been a long time sheriff of Lithgow, was obliged to flee from Scotland, because he was of his brother's religion; when he had been a considerable time abroad, he got liberty from the king to return for some time to settle his affairs: notwithstanding which, he could not think he was safe whilst Sir James Hamilton was president of that new inquisition, who, though his near relation, was his mortal enemy, because when he was sheriff, he had given a cause against him; he knew that Sir James never forgave what he believed was an injury, and would now colour his revenge against his enemies, by the all-atoning name of zeal for the catholic faith. And now, seeing an aftergame was dangerous, this gentleman designed to be beforehand with him, upon this he sent his son to the king, who was then in Fifeshire, to warn him, that now there was great necessity for his majesty to take care of his person, for Sir James Hamilton corresponded secretly with the earl of Angus, and that he only waited for a convenient time to put his wicked designs in execution; for whenever he could nick the time when his majesty was alone, or had few attendants, then he would enter his chamber and assassinate him. The king, who never was regardless of any thing that was proposed for the safety of his life, dispatched that young gentleman to Edinburgh, and gave him his ring, which was well known to his ministers as a token

of the truth of the message; he told them the king ordered James Lermont, his master of the household, James Kirkcaldy, the treasurer, and Thomas Erskine, master of requests, to meet in the exchequer; that the young gentleman, the bearer, would acquaint them with the treasonable designs of Sir James Hamilton, which they were speedily to prevent.

Those judges, who could not dispence with their obedience to the king's positive commands, went immediately to Sir James' house, where they arrested him, and committed him to prison in the castle of Edinburgh, and in the mean time drew up the articles of impeachment against him. The churchmen were persuaded that this accusation was a contrivance of the protestants, to ruin the inquisition, which began then to be hard upon them; upon which account they undertook the defence of the prisoner, went to the king, and most earnestly desired him to give no credit to those calumnies Sir James was charged with, who had always been a very faithful and obedient subject to his majesty. They most humbly begged that he might be enlarged, and sent back to the exercise of his office. Lermont and Kirkcaldy, being apprised how eagerly the clergy defended the prisoner's cause, were mightily troubled; on the one hand they knew that the king was naturally inclined to mercy, and was too much directed by the counsels of churchmen; on the other hand, they knew if Sir James regained his liberty, he would never forgive the affront they had done him; for he was a man of great interest,

factious, and revengeful, and their known love to the protestant religion, would give him the best handle imaginable to work their ruin.

To provide for their safety, they went to the king, and enlarged not so much upon the prisoner's guilt, or the circumstances of it, as upon his dangerous and wicked temper, that he was bold, outrageous, and powerful, and would never forget the scandal of his imprisonment, but would think of nothing but revenge, if he were freed from prison before he was tried: those hints determined the king to lay aside his journey to Seatoun, and to go to Edinburgh. On the day appointed for the trial, the king came to the court of justice and sat there in person; the prisoner was brought to the bar, and had liberty to make his defence in the most full manner he could; after this the king went out of the court, probably to shun any petitions that might be made for his life, or lest his presence might hinder the judges from speaking their minds freely, seeing it was a matter that concerned the safety of his own person: he ordered the judges to continue the trial till it was ended, and told them he gave them all power to do justice according to their consciences, and to the laws of the kingdom: so upon the proof of the articles of impeachment Sir James was found guilty, and was condemned to be hanged and quartered, and his quarters to be fixed upon the gates of the city. Few lamented his death except his relations; for his actions had procured very many enemies, because he stuck at nothing to advance his own interest.

From that time there was an intire change in the temper and nature of the king, so that all at once he became morose and chagrin to that degree, that he was uneasy both to himself and others; he was displeased with every thing, and abandoned himself so much to melancholy, that he avoided all recreations: but any scandalous discourse that concerned the nobility, was the only conversation that pleased him.

The cause which was assigned for this melancholy of his, was his superstitious observance of dreams, which he always explained to be the presages of some future dismal event. "It is one of the most remarkable misfortunes of mankind, who, for unaccountable apprehensions, torment themselves with what is past, are perplexed for what is to come, and not satisfied with their present troubles, make use of the night, which was designed for their rest, to increase their misery, and to afford them new materials of affliction."

Amongst all his dreams, none tormented him more than this; he dreamed, the night after the execution of Sir James Hamilton, that he entered his chamber, and with a sword cut off his two arms, and threatened he would return and take away the remains of his life; upon which he disappeared. The king awakened in a great surprise, continued thoughtful, and was persuaded that that dream which he could not get out of his head, was an omen of something very afflicting, which was very near at hand; this he found too true, for not long after, he had the sad news that

both his sons died the same day, and the same hour, the eldest at St. Andrews, and the other at Stirling. This was a very great loss, but he bore it patiently, because the queen was then with child, who dissembled the sense she had of that affliction, and endeavoured by all means to comfort the king, whom she endeavoured to dissuade from having such a regard to dreams, which above all things impaired his health; for that end she employed the assistance of two learned divines and philosophers who were then at court, if possibly by argument they could cure the wounded imagination of the king, and persuade him that dreams are nothing but delusions. When the question was stated, whether we ought to give any faith to dreams or not, they were not both of the same opinion:

One of them said, "that God by dreams used to give men notices of what was to come, and though sometimes they appear very obscure and unintelligible, yet the event, which is the best commentary upon them, discovers their truth; dreams are generally big with mysteries, the unfolding of which belongs only to those, to whom heaven has imparted that gift; and if any object that they are frequently false, that mistake proceeds from our ignorance of them, and frequently because persons who are unacquainted with such high secrets, undertake to explain them: besides, that God for very wise reasons reveals himself to mankind during their sleep, because then the soul is most free from the noise, hurry, and confusion of the senses; and as that

time is most susceptible of his holy inspirations, as the scriptures informs us in the case of Abimelech, Laban, Judas Machabeus, Nebuchadnezar, St. John, the three Wise Men, and others who were all instructed from above in dreams: likewise those surprising arts which Bezaleel and Aholiab excelled in, were more frequently infused into them when asleep, than when they were awake."

The other learned man on the contrary maintained, "that it was only an error of an old date that had seduced several great men, to believe that dreams contained any heavenly mystery, seeing they were to be accounted for in a natural way; for they had their rise partly from the constitution of men, and partly from the active nature of men's spirits, even in the time of rest, when they cannot use the senses and organs of the body, which are then fast bound up by sleep: the mind is obliged to sport itself in the imagination, where there is a medley of ideas relating to different objects, by the blending of which together, it creates chimeras that never did exist, and are impossible ever to be; and sometimes the soul diverts itself in the memory, where are imprinted the ideas of things that have struck our senses, or the traces of things which we have done, or design to do; if the mind happen then to be in any violent passion, the ideas of the imagination are jumbled with those of the memory; the dreams which proceed from such a confusion are incapable of any meaning; so it is profane to attribute them to the holy spirit. How foolish is it to imagine that our

dreams are more capable of infallibility and intercourse with heaven, than our thoughts when we are awake, which are frequently then engaged in deep and rational meditations? How unworthy of God is it to fancy he is the author of dreams, and that by them he warns us of things that are to come, when of a hundred thousand of them we shall scarcely find one that can have any meaning at all; the rest are only chimeras which have no signification: this would prove quite otherwise, if they were from God, who never does any thing in vain; for all his gifts answer the ends they were designed for; so those inspirations which proceed from the omniscience of God, must of necessity be intelligible: for God, who is infallible, never produces effects contrary to his own perfections. How ridiculous is it to imagine, that God, who is light, truth, and order, is the author of dreams which are full of obscurity, lies, and confusion? In vain it is to support that opinion from the authority of the holy scriptures, seeing it is expressly forbidden in Leviticus to observe dreams; further, a regard to dreams and vain delusions has been the occasion of the miscarriage of many actions. He owned that great secrets had been discovered in the night by revelation, which is the peculiar favour of God, but not at all by dreams, which have nothing to do with inspiration; that it was an improper way of speaking to call those visions in the night which appeared to Abimelech, Solomon, and other holy persons, by the name of dreams, seeing the former are prophecies full of high and holy mysteries: in fine, it was great

weakness to be moved by dreams, or to give any credit to them."

The king listened to this discourse with great attention; but when he compared his dream with the loss of two sons which followed upon it, and whom he thought were represented by his two arms, nothing could hinder him from believing them.

At this time there was neither certain peace, nor open war, betwixt England and Scotland; for Henry VIII. was enraged to see that his nephew slighted him, this made him give secret orders to his garrisons on the frontiers to make inroads upon Scotland; when king James saw that such grievances and injuries were not at all redressed, he began to review his troops, because he was assured that in a little time a war would begin betwixt the two kingdoms: upon which he made the earl of Murray, his bastard brother, lieutenant-general of his army, and gave all the necessary orders for putting a stop to the incursions of the enemy. In the mean time, whilst both kings were making preparations for war, king James desired by fair means to compose the differences between his uncle and himself: for that end he sent James Lermont to wait upon king Henry at Newcastle, to excuse his not coming to York, according to his uncle's desire, because then the circumstances of his affairs were such, that it was not safe for him to leave his kingdom; that there was no reason why the king of England should be angry with him upon that account; that it was unjust for him to suffer his army, even in the

time of peace, to invade his kingdom, and lay his subjects under contribution, and besides to treat them with all possible cruelty. Mr. Lermont was to ask reparation for those wrongs.

During Mr. Lermont's absence, the king ordered George Gordon, earl of Huntly, to the frontiers with a squadron of light horse, to oppose the English army if they entered Scotland; but he did nothing that was considerable, because he was very far inferior to the enemy in number, whose forces increased daily. The English, in the view of Huntly, marched towards Jedburgh to take it by assault, where they expected good plunder; but the earl of Hume, who had raised four hundred horse in great haste, opposed their march, and disputed every foot of ground with them; and after a bloody fight of three hours, Hume's party perceiving Huntly's troops riding up to them, thought they were coming to reinforce the English army, upon which they retired in good order, with the loss of few of their men, but several were taken. All this time Henry VIII. amused Lermont with promises that he would give full contentment to his nephew till his army was ready to march, which he ordered Lermont to accompany to Scotland, lest otherwise he might give warning to his master, whom he designed to surprise before he was prepared to encounter him.

When the king was informed of the march of his enemies, not being then ready to take the field, to gain time, he sent John Areskine to York, to the duke of Norfolk, who was lieutenant-general of king Henry's army, to demand the reasons of

that invasion; that if he had done any injustice to the king of England he was willing to make reparation, seeing war would be to both their losses. The duke detained Areskine till his army came to Berwick, and would not suffer him to go to Scotland, though Areskine saw there was no hopes of peace, he got no positive answer from the duke: the design of this was, that king James, expecting peace, might not be in readiness to resist him when he entered Scotland. The king being informed by his scouts, that the English army was within fifteen miles of the borders, he encamped the body of his army near Falla-church, and ordered the earl of Huntly to march before with a thousand men to meet them; but he did nothing that was remarkable.

Though the Scotch army was outnumbered by the English, yet the king sought all occasions to bring it to a battle; but could not persuade his nobility to be willing, which highly enraged him, and to gain, if possible, upon them, he made the following speech:

"Shall it ever be said that the nobility of Scotland have abandoned the service of their king in the sight of the enemy, and when the two armies were ready to engage? Is it possible that you who have courted opportunities to show your bravery, that you now shall lose this occasion which offers, where you may purchase new laurels? How unlike are you to those brave warriors your predecessors, whose arms and names you bear, who were regardless of their lives when honour and the defence of their country invited them to war!

If the danger of your king is not argument enough to persuade you, let the safety of your native country move you, which is in danger of suffering all the inconveniencies of being made the seat of the war, seeing your birth, your wives, and children, oblige you to spend your blood in their defence: what have you to fear from the English army which is marching against you, seeing they are only new levied men, and undisciplined, which I could undertake to disperse with those of my household? but I am more afraid of those amongst you, who are not determined, as yet, if they shall assist me in the time of the engagement; you ought to remember it was always a fixed principle with your worthy ancestors, That life is a punishment to those who have lost their honour. Rouse then your courage, and suffer not victory to escape us, which shall certainly be ours, if you discover any bravery at all upon this occasion; otherwise I shall publish your ingratitude, and leave it to posterity to judge, whither cowardice or treason has the greatest share in your thus deserting the service of your king."

The king could not moderate his wrath, though many of the nobility represented, "that they had acquired reputation enough, in that with so small a force, and levied in such haste, they had stopt the progress of their enemies powerful and numerous army, which had been so long a preparing, and which designed no less than to overrun the whole country, which though it had been eight days on the frontiers, yet never durst advance one mile within it; they were not sensible that they

had degenerated from the valour and merit of their forefathers, and should never give occasion to the king either to doubt of their courage or fidelity. But they desired his majesty to consider how dangerous it would be, both for his person, and kingdom, to hazard a battle at such an unfit time; he ought to remember Flodden Field, where rashness contributed more than any thing to the defeat, and lost the life of his father, and exposed their country to the mercy of his enemy: if he would be graciously pleased to listen to the advice of his faithful servants, and would suffer his affairs to be managed with patience, they could promise him a sure victory."

It soon appeared, that the advice of the nobility was very fit at that time; for the duke of Norfolk leaving Berwick, had entered Scotland, and crossed the river Tweed at Kelso, and did not think there was any Scotch army to oppose his march; but when news came to his camp, that king James was not six miles distant from him, with a considerable army, and designed to give him battle, this unexpected account of matters so terrified his soldiers, a great part of which followed more upon the account of plunder than for fighting, that they repassed the river in great disorder, leaving behind them their arms and baggage, and returned to their houses. Huntly, who knew of this, made no advantage of that disorder, and did not pursue them; so from that time the king hated him. The lord Maxwell, who earnestly desired to recover in the king's mind a good opinion of his nobility, came and proposed to his majesty, That

if he would give him the command of ten thousand men, he would enter England by the way of Solway, which diversion would divide their enemy's force, and doubted not but he should do some action that should please his majesty. This design was very like to turn to a good account, if it had not been ruined by the king's implacable aversion to the nobility: for the king, after he gave the command to Maxwell, a wise and experienced general, who detached a body of ten thousand men from the army, he then gave also a secret commission in writing to a young gentleman, called Oliver St. Clare, of no great family, and above all, who had no experience in any such matters, which strictly commanded all the army to acknowledge him for the king's lieutenant-general, which commission Oliver was not to open till the two armies was about to engage; his design in this was, That if that army routed the English, the nobility might pretend no share in the victory, whose pride above all things he desired to mortify. Maxwell passed the Solway, and was about to enter England, when there appeared on the top of a hill about one thousand five hundred of the enemy's horse, about two miles from his army, and was then about to pursue them, when St. Clare, according to the king's orders, is presently mounted on crossed pikes, that he might be seen by the army, and has his commission read with a loud voice: this unexpected turn of affairs, provoked all the soldiers so much, and especially Maxwell, that immediately they broke their ranks, and refused to obey the new

general; so confusion now prevailed instead of their former good order. The enemy perceiving this, improved it to their own advantage, and were resolved to attack them immediately whilst in disorder, before they were determined either to fight or retire; they charged them with great fury and a loud cry, whilst their suttlers, baggage, and servants, horse and foot were all mixed together: few soldiers were killed in this encounter, but many were made prisoners. The news of this scandalous defeat when brought to the king, who was near at hand, almost distracted him; sometimes his thoughts was full of nothing but revenge against those who would not acknowledge St. Clare their general; at another time he was racked with indignation and shame for that scandalous misfortune, and resolved to levy a new army, and either to rout his enemies, or to lose his life.

But the prudent queen, who perceived that the king was distempered with melancholy and chagrin, and that the present bad posture of affairs required a peace, she procured a truce by the mediation of the earl of Angus, who for that good service had liberty granted him to return into Scotland.

Upon the disbanding of the army the king came to Stirling, whither the queen came also, and was brought to bed of a daughter called Mary, who was queen of Scotland after her father's death; this was a considerable comfort to them in their late troubles: but the long watchings, the constant perturbation of mind, and grief which he had suffered for about four months, had so weakened the king, that at length he was taken with a

loss of appetite, which hindered from taking any nourishment, and that occasioned his death.

He was a comely prince, of an ordinary stature, but strong to a wonder; he was naturally a man of great abilities, of a penetrating judgement, and had made a greater figure in the world, if those gifts of nature had been cultivated by a good education; but it was the unhappiness of that time, that learning was thought unbecoming a great man: he was gracious, a lover of justice, and punished thieves severely; he could endure much fatigue, and suffer trouble with a great evenness of temper; the poor had as easy access to him as the great; but withal he was very much given to his pleasures.

Thus died king James, the fifth of that name, December 30th, 1541, more by grief than sickness, being in the flower of his youth, about thirty years of age, after he had reigned twenty-eight years.

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1642

AN

INQUIRY

INTO THE

GENEALOGY AND PRESENT STATE

OF

ANCIENT SCOTTISH SURNAMES;

WITH THE

ORIGIN AND DESCENT

OF

THE HIGHLAND CLANS,

AND

FAMILY OF BUCHANAN.

By WILLIAM BUCHANAN of Auchmar.

GLASGOW:

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THE

PREFACE.

THE subject of the following book may possibly appear a little too confined to the most part of readers, in regard the affairs of private families can be of so very little concern to the public; and besides, genealogies themselves are commonly reckoned so dry and tasteless a thing, that very few people think it worth while to be at much pains about them. It is not my design to answer all the arguments may be urged on this head. I persuade myself, no man thinks it lost labour to inquire into the descent of princes, and other eminent personages; and why should it be looked on as altogether unnecessary to know that of private families, especially when they have produced persons of extraordinary characters and reputation in the world? The public historians cannot be supposed to know any thing of such minute passages, without the help of such private memorials; and therefore it is necessary, that some or other should

take upon them that lower employment, of gathering together the materials, that may be serviceable to the higher order of writers. Instead, therefore, of incurring censure for the choice of my subject, I ought rather to have the thanks of my readers, for not going out of my depth, by undertaking what I had not sufficient abilities for.

None of my readers need be afraid of being imposed upon in my management of this work. For though, indeed, in some cases, where authentic records could not be had, I have been obliged to take up with the best attested, and most generally received, traditional accounts; yet for the most part I am supported in what I say, by ancient charters of uncontested authority. And besides, whenever I am obliged to make use of tradition, I always advertise my reader of it; and giving him the most probable account to confirm my own opinion, leave him to make what judgment he pleaseth himself upon the matter.

In the Account of the HIGHLAND CLANS, the curious will find something that has not yet been touched upon by any of our writers, and which may be agreeable to such as are fond of our Scottish antiquities; there being not only an abstract of all that our historians have delivered unto us on that subject, but also all the old uncontroverted traditions we have among us relating thereto, which, though they cannot be vouched by written authorities, yet it would be overgreat incredulity

to pay no manner of regard to them; especially since we have for the most part no better documents for the origin of most nations in Europe.

The Family of BUCHANAN has had the honour to produce a great many persons, that make a very considerable figure in our history; and as it is natural for us to be curious about the smallest circumstances relating to great men, those of that temper will here find what in a great measure may serve to gratify such their curiosity. Besides, this family is now grown so very numerous, that it cannot but be of very great use to those of the name, or that are any way allied to it, to have a full and distinct account of its affairs. So that though perhaps this treatise may not be of such general use, yet it will at least serve them for whom I principally intended it, to wit, those of the name and family of Buchanan.

In giving an account of the family of Buchanan, I have been very exact in looking over the writings belonging to it, now in the hands of his grace the duke of Montrose, which the laird of Gorthy was pleased to supply me with. This account, though a great many documents are lost, has been of considerable use to me: as has also the tree of the family of Buchanan in Lenny's hands, which though a great part of it is cut off, and some of it contradictory to more certain evidents, yet is in the main a very valuable piece of antiquity. I have had also the perusal of all the writings in the hands of

the Buchanans of Drumikill, Lenny, Carbeth, Spittel, Auchneiven and Gartinstarry, which though very distinct yet would not have been full enough, had I not obtained an ancient chartulary among the records of Dunbartonshire, containing the whole progress of the earls of Lennox and their vassals, from the beginning of the reign of king Alexander the second, *anno* 1214, till the latter end of king Robert the third's reign, which has been of singular service to me. The chartulary of Paisley has also furnished me with several things very useful for my purpose.

Some people, indeed, of the name of Buchanan, from what inducement I will not pretend to determine, have been pleased to refuse me the necessary helps for giving an account of their families: if I have therefore been any ways defective in what relates to them, they have none but themselves to blame for it, who have deprived me of the means whereby I can do them justice, which was my sole intention in undertaking this work.

I do not think myself obliged to make any apology for the style of the ensuing sheets. The subject of them exclude every thing of labour and elegance. All that can be looked for in them is plainness and perspicuity, both which it has been my greatest pains to endeavour after. If I have succeeded, so as to satisfy those for whom I chiefly intended these sheets, I am content, and shall desire no other reward for my labours, than that

they will charitably excuse whatever errors I may have fallen into, on account of the sincerity and honesty of my intentions. I submit the whole to the candid reader, and shall no longer detain him from the perusal of the work.

AN

INQUIRY

INTO THE

Genealogy and Present State

OF

ANCIENT

SCOTTISH SURNAMES.

INTENDING to give an account of the origin of some of the most considerable clans in Scotland, I think it necessary to advertise the readers in the entry, that they are not to expect such distinct and well vouched relations of things transacted at so great a distance of time, as in matters of more recent memory. The history of all nations and people in their origin depends upon the authority of immemorial tradition, which if it be not a good one, is at least the only one can be obtained in all such cases. I have therefore made use of it in the ensuing treatise, wherever more authentic documents were wanting, and when other circumstances give the strength of probability to the traditional accounts.

The existence of any surnames as now used be-

fore the reign of king Malcolm Canmore, which commenced in the year 1057, is vigorously controverted by a great many of this age; and that the first surnames which commenced in, or shortly after that reign, were local surnames, or these denominated from the lands first acquired by the assumers of these surnames. This supposition, upon due examination, will be found of no great weight, if the least regard be had to our public histories, and some other records; there being no designation more frequently mentioned in our histories than that of Phylarchæ, or chieftains of tribes, which in all rational probability can admit of no other construction than chiefs of surnames or clans, agreeable to those of that station in these modern ages. It is very absurd to assert, that there were chieftains of tribes in these times, and yet allow them no tribes to be chieftains of; which is the same thing in effect as to call one by the name of a king, and yet allow him to have no kingdom; or to speak of a general, and at the same time deny him any soldiers. Though it may be urged against this assertion, that these Phylarchæ, were the king's governors of provinces, inhabited by tribes of different denominations; yet this is no way probable, it being evident from our history, that in the reign of king Eugenius VIII. about the year 740, Murdoc was governor of the province of Galloway, and in the reign of king Solvatheus, *anno* 770, Cullan governor of Argyll, and Duchal governor of Athole. All these being designed by the particular provinces governed by them, and existing in the same ages, that the Phylarchæ were

not only existing, but in their full splendour, as they continued for many ages thereafter, and of a quite different office and designation, sufficiently demonstrates the Phylarchæ to have been different from the governors of provinces. Nor could these have been governors or captains of the two or three tribes of the Brigantes and Silures, to which by some the Iceni are added, into which the Scottish people were in ancient times divided, in regard the Phylarchæ are said to be very numerous, being councillors in civil, and captains in martial affairs under our Scottish kings. Whereas, if there had only been captains of these tribes, their number had been no more than three, which is highly improbable, and the more so, in regard only the first of these three tribes is mentioned, or applied ordinarily to the Scots, by any unexceptionable authors. Much less are we to rely on these newly invented fictitious names of Gadeni, Novantes, Ladeni, and such like names of tribes assigned to the ancient inhabitants of each province, or shire in this kingdom, to be met with in divers, especially of our modern writers, none of which hath the least signification in, or affinity with, the undeniable native language used by those to whom these terms are given; whereas the term of Gathelians, denoting their origin, and Albinich, importing their country, though far more ancient terms than any of the other, are as yet in the native language retained by the progeny of the ancient Scots. So that it may be presumed the above names of the several tribes had not been so wholly disused, had the same ever been really in use, or

of any import in their language; these terms seeming to have been invented by such as had little knowledge of the language, and other circumstances of those to whom they assigned them, and therefore no great reason to assign the Phylarchæ who had a real existence to these tribes, which in all appearance had no other than a fictitious one.

Nor can it be well imagined with what show of reason it can be denied, that the ancient Scots were composed of divers surnames in common with other nations, such as the Grecians, who, though called by the general denomination of Grecians, and more particularly by their several provinces, as Beotians, Spartans, &c. yet at the same time surnames were in use among them; as the Heraclidæ, from their progenitor Hercules; Pelopidæ from Pelops; Mirmidons, so denominated from their frugality or laboriousness. Also among the Romans distinct surnames were no less frequent than among the former; as the Fabii from their ancestor Fabius; the Manlii Torquati denominated from their ancestor Manlius Torquatus. Among the English the ancestor of the surname of Piercy, ancient earls of Northumberland, obtained that surname upon account of their ancestor's piercing king Malcolm III.'s eye with a spear at Alnwick. Also the Turnbulls in Scotland are said to have first got that surname from one of their ancestors turning of a mad bull, which made an attempt upon king Robert I. Nor were surnames in these more ancient times only used among the more polite nations, but also among the more barbarous; as the Acmenidæ among the Persians;

Arsacidæ among the Parthians, and so in general among most of the known world. And it is very remarkable, that notwithstanding of the various revolutions, and grand mutations which have fallen upon the country and people of Italy, since the declination, at least extinction of the Roman empire, yet some remainder of the ancient surnames with little variation continue as yet in that country; as some of the Vitellii, of which family was Aulus Vitellius, a Roman emperor. And we find Chiapinius Vitellius, a principal officer under the prince of Parma in the wars of Flanders, not much above an age ago, being of that ancient surname. The Irish also contend in their histories, that they can carry down the descent of the O'Neills, O'Donnells, O'Lauchlins, O'Brians, MacRories, and others, termed by them the Milesian progeny, from certain sons of Milesius king of Spain, being captain of the first colonel of Gathelians, or Scots, which from Spain first arrived, and settled in Ireland.

The Welch, and some English writers assert, that the ancestor of the surname of Tudor, of which was king Henry VII. was originally descended from Cadwallader, last king of the Britons, who flourished about the 668 of the christian epocha. To instance the fondness of people's having the origin of their most famous men screwed up to as great a pitch of antiquity as possible, yea, sometimes above measure, I observed in Harrison, an English writer, the genealogy of Hengist first king of Kent, and planter of the Saxons in Britain, carried up to Noah, and names assigned to each of his progenitors through all that long pedigree

Though, indeed, I in no manner approve of such vain-glory; I as little do so of the opinionative-ness of some of our writers, who endeavour all they can to deprive their country of that which other nations esteem their honour, and which a great many upon much worse grounds, and much less satisfying authorities, use their utmost efforts in asserting, by extolling the antiquity of their nation, and surnames.

The principal reason of some people's decrying the antiquity of the last is, that those writers will not allow private evidences, judged by them the only infallible records, to have had any existence before the reign of king David I. and therefore what is recorded of any surnames is not to be relied on before that time. But as the first part of that supposition is not so infallible as these would make private evidents, so no more is the last part of it, it being well known, that there is lately found among our public records a charter by king Duncan I. grandfather to king David, as also a charter by Ethelred, one of king Malcolm III.'s sons, of lands called Admor, to the Culdees of St. Andrews, granted in his father's time, and to which he is witness. And as these, so divers others of equal, if not greater antiquity, might be found, upon due inquisition, in our public records, and some private hands. Yea, Speed, and other English historians, mention that there is a charter in the public records of that nation, granted by king Athelstan, to one Paulan a Saxon gentleman, of the lands of Rodham in Yorkshire, with divers others by king Edgar, Ethelred, and other Saxon kings,

long before the reign of king David. So that if these Saxon kings be allowed to have granted charters in those more ancient times, who received both their religion and letters from the Scots, I see no reason of denying those of this kingdom the same matter; though probably a great many of the most ancient have been cancelled, and others carried into foreign parts in the time of the wars after the death of king Alexander, and at the Reformation.

And though there were no other record than our public histories concerning divers of our surnames, and other affairs, if no credit must be allowed to any thing recorded therein before the reigns of king Malcolm III. and king David I. the loss would be found much greater than could readily be compensated by any supposition newly advanced, however specious, tending to the subversion of a history, as well founded in all circumstances as is requisite for any of that kind.

To this, therefore, I shall appeal in relation to what I am to offer in further prosecution of the above-mentioned subject, and by the same will endeavour to illustrate a good many of our most considerable surnames, whose progeny of the same denomination is found in this age to have existed in several junctures, and different reigns, divers ages before the time prefixed by those modern writers.

My first instance is of the surname of MURRAY. Our historians relate a people of that denomination to have arrived in this kingdom in the reign of king Corbred I. and for possessions to have got

Murray land, retaining that name yet; of which tribe, in regard of their armorial bearing, being Mollets, accounted by heralds the most ancient, and that the ancient and once numerous surname of Sutherland is reputed a branch of the same, the present surname of Murray may without the least inconsistency be not only presumed, but even admitted to be originally descended; especially seeing, in the reign of king Donald V. *anno* 900, there is mention of a controversy, maintained with much slaughter, betwixt the Murrays and Rosses, both being considerable surnames at that time, which is more than two centuries before the time assigned for the commencement of surnames. And that which in a great measure confirms my allegation in relation to the Murrays, is, that among the first of our surnames that of Murray is found upon record by private evidents, and is thereby known to have been a potent and numerous name.

For further instances we have the Grahams in king Fergus II.'s time, *anno* 404. Of which, with the Dunbars, there is again mention made in the reign of king Indulfus. Now, as was before observed of the surname of Murray, the surname of Graham within so small a tract of time after this reign being found upon record by private evidents, leaves no room to doubt of its being the genuine offspring of those already mentioned. In the same manner also the Dunbars, of which the potent name of Hume is a branch, may be asserted to be the progeny of that considerable person of that name mentioned in the foresaid reign, notwithstanding of some late writers asserting one

Gospatrick, a Saxon, who left Northumberland, and settled in the Mers about the reign of king Malcolm IV. to be ancestor of the Dunbars. But the contrary plainly appears by the concurrent testimony of divers of our historians, who maintain that surname's descent from one properly called Barr, one of king Kenneth the Great's captains, who in the wars against the Picts, and upon the subversion of that people, obtained an estate in the Mers, being a part of the Picts' dominion, and upon the acquisition of those lands named the same Dunbar, which in the ancient language imports the fort or habitation of Barr, whence his progeny assumed the surname of Dunbar. Nor does it infer any inconsistency, that the principal person of that name had besides his estate in the Mers, the estate of Bengelly in Northumberland, of which he retained possession till the Scots were dispossessed of that whole province, by the unjust avarice of king Henry II. of England.

The third and most clearly documented instance of any hitherto advanced, is that of the illustrious surname of Douglas, in king Solvathius' time, in the year 770. Of which surname, Sir William Douglas went lieutenant to prince William, king Achaius' brother, in the army sent by that king to the service of Charles the Great, first emperor of the west, and king of France, upon the conclusion of the league betwixt France and Scotland; after which, the said Sir William, having settled in Tuscany, was ancestor of the family of the Douglassii there, and in the low countries, who have always retained the ancient surname and

bearing of the family of Douglas in Scotland, and also a close correspondence therewith, as may be seen by the exquisite history of that surname here, as also by the history written by Umberto de Lorato of those others abroad, which could not have been very practicable to be so exactly done, had not the surname of Douglas been so denominated in the reign in which that brave gentleman, a branch thereof, left this kingdom. The progenitor of the surname of Douglas is reported by some antiquaries to have been a son of MacDuff, thane of Fife, who, upon his so much signalising himself in the battle against Donald Bain, obtained his surname, not from his black-gray armour alone, as is commonly asserted, but from his surname of MacDuff, or Duff, termed in Irish Du, or Duy, from whence, and his gray armour, he was upon that occasion termed Macduiglas, and thereafter more briefly and properly Douglas.

However this be, there are not other instances wanting to confirm what has been advanced on the present subject; such as the ancestor of the surname of Hay, who with his two sons by their valour gained that signal victory for the Scots against the Danes at the battle of Luncarty, in the reign of king Kenneth III. He by our historians is expressly asserted to be surnamed Hay at that occasion.

The ancestor of the surname of Keith is also memorable in our history for killing of Camus the Danish general in the reign of king Malcolm II. We have also an account of Duncan MacDuff, who was thane of Fife, in the reign of MacBeath,

and is recorded to have been a person of great power and authority, and chief of a numerous and potent surname, as the many considerable branches descended of that family near those times clearly evince, such as the Weymesses, MacIntoshes, and Shaws, with divers others. The first of these derive their surname from caves, with which the sea-coasts of those lands first acquired by the progenitor of that name abounds; caves being termed in Irish, Uaimh, which can be no other way rendered in English than Weymess. The surname of Hume has also the same etymology, all the difference being that the *H*, or note of aspiration, is more plainly pronounced in the last of these surnames.

These above adduced being not only of a date much more ancient than the period by some writers assigned for the commencement of surnames in general, but also in these times in which the said are found upon record both potent and numerous, which cannot be in reason thought to have been effected in an instant, or even a small tract of time; it seems therefore much more reasonable to presume, that they, with some others long ago extinct, or not expressly recorded, and others hereafter to be mentioned, were the genuine progeny of the Phylarchæ, and others anciently planted at several junctures in this kingdom, than to conclude them and all our other surnames in a manner upstarts, in regard each of them cannot (as I suppose few others can) produce such distinct evidents concerning their several origins, as may satisfy such as reject all that suits not their particular humours, however inconsistent with reason, or the nature of

the matter canvassed, the same may sometimes fall out to be.

Next falls to be considered that assertion of local surnames derived from the lands of the assumers, to have commenced in the reign of king Malcolm III. and to be the most ancient surnames, and that there was no other surname, or method of distinguishing persons, in use before that time, but what was assumed either from bodily properties, applicable to particular persons, as Roy, or Baan, from the red or flaxen colour of a person's hair; Balloch, from spots on the face; Bacah, from a halt in one's leg: or from some quality of mind, as Coich, mad or passionate, and such like. It is also asserted, that these names then used were sometimes derived from a person's father's christian name, as James son of John, with others of that kind, none of which were of longer duration than the person's own time so denominated. And so there was room left for new surnames each generation. All which, if true, would argue us to have been a more confused and rude set of people, than our very enemies could have wished, or ever gave us out to be.

As to local surnames, it is to be observed, that the greater part of them are derived from proper significant terms in the English language, terminating mostly in *town*, or some other term in that language; which language cannot be documented to have commenced in the reign of king Malcolm III. even in England, much less to have been either spoken, or understood in Scotland, over all which Irish was the native language used by the

inhabitants then, and for some ages thereafter, it being severely enacted, that none should either use or learn the Saxon, or Teutonic, which was that used in England, lest by that means there should be any correspondence with the Saxons when enemies. Yea, so far was the mixture of Teutonic, and old Cimbric, or Danish, from being either perfect or pleasant, that William, the Norman Conqueror, upon his conquest of England, endeavoured all he could, as did also some of his successors, to suppress or abolish that language entirely, and bring the French in place thereof, which in a great measure was effected. So that it was at a long distance after his time ere that compound of the said three languages, and the Latin, termed now English, was introduced, and longer time ere the same was brought to any measure of perfection; so that it is somewhat ridiculous to assert, that surnames, which in the least can lay any just claim to antiquity, could be derived from any significant terms in a language scarcely known, and far less used in this kingdom before the reigns of king Alexander II. and III. who, by their successive marriages with the daughters of the kings of England, their frequent commerce and correspondence with that kingdom, and the resort of divers English to, and settlement in this, made that language, though even in those times very unpolite, to be in some measure used here.

Nor will it be found upon record, that these local surnames are generally of a more ancient standing than the reign of the first of these two

kings; and even then the assumers of these local surnames had other surnames, not only at the time, but also a good many for divers ages before the assumption of the local ones; as Houston's ancestor had that of Padvinan before that of Houston; Buchanan that of MacAuselan before that of Buchanan; and so a great many others. However, in the reigns of king Alexander III. and king Robert I. the English language having become pretty much in use, it is probable those kings, as did some of their successors, encouraged the assumers of new surnames from their lands, in order to carry off some dependants and cadets from the too numerous and potent clans, by that means diminishing their numbers, and weakening their union, so formidable often to the kings themselves, who rationally concluded, that few were so free of ambition, and careless of their own interest, as not to chuse to be a kind of chief of his sept, or at least expected some one of his progeny in a little time would be so, and to be in the king's favour and protection, rather than be subject to the imperious commands of their chieftains, which often tended to the ruin of themselves and their dependants. Moreover, many of English extract, who upon divers accounts settled in this kingdom, in the time of the wars betwixt the death of king Alexander III. and the beginning of the reign of king David II. judged it their interest to change their former, and assume new surnames from their lands, or some other occasion; by that means, in some small process of time, to bring in oblivion their extract and nation, both so justly odious at

that time to the people they resided among. So that as the most probable time of the commencement of these surnames is hereby pointed out, so also the extract of them, upon a due disquisition, will be found to be English.

For further illustration of this subject, it is unanimously agreed to by our historians, that upon the subversion of the Picts, being more than two hundred years before the reign of king Malcolm III. a great part of the land possessed by the said people, obtained new denominations, from the proper names of those brave captains to whom king Kenneth assigned the lands in recompence of their service in conquering the ancient possessors thereof; as, for instance, that peninsula formerly called Ross, was then called Fife, from the proper name of a nobleman called Fife, whose surname was Macduff, and whose progeny continued thanes of that country for divers ages thereafter. As was at the same time the country called anciently Horestia, termed afterwards Merns and Angus, from the proper names of two brethren betwixt whom that country was divided.

Nor seems the other supposition concerning epithetical surnames to be much better founded, as derived from some properties of person's bodies, or qualities of their mind. These epithetical designations must be owned to have been in use in some preceding ages, and even in the present, in all places where the Irish language is used, or prevails; though at the same time there is not the least reason of allowing these epithets to have been ever used in place of surnames, or that persons so

designed had no other surnames save them, which indeed are mostly to be met with in private evidents, the clerks of which being mostly churchmen, were so stupid, and supinely negligent, and so very careless of the instruction or advantage of future ages, as for the most part to neglect all other designations of persons, except those epithetical ones so much used then, and by which persons were well enough known, though of no longer duration than their own time; which seems neither to have been regarded nor considered by those unthinking clerks, more than their frequent omission of inserting dates in charters, and other evidents written by them. So that if it be argued, that surnames did not commence, or that persons had none, because not designed by them in most of those reputed unerring private evidents, it may as well be argued, from the omission of inserting dates in those evidents, that no certain or stated epocha of time commenced, or was known, at the time of writing those evidents in which the same is omitted. As these private records, or evidents, so much at present relied on, are most frequently defective in respect of the particulars above-mentioned, and some others, so neither are our public histories wholly free of such imperfections in relation to full designations of persons; as, for instance, that Donald Baan, in king Solvathius' time, by most of our historians is no otherwise designed, and therefore by our modern writers judged to have had no other surname than the epithet of Baan assigned, upon account of his flaxen hair; yet archdean Ballenden, translator of Boetius'

history, fully and truly designs him Donald Baan MacDonald, governor of Jura. He seems to have been tutor to the great MacDonald, while minor, or his deputy in some parts of his vast territories. Also another Donald is no other way designed by our historians, than Donald Balloch, or spotted Donald, who lived in the reign of king James I. and was brother to Alexander, lord of the Isles, who, with his clan, are very well known to be MacDonalds for a great many ages before that time. Malcolm Beg, who succeeded to Gilbert, laird of Buchanan, in the office of senescall or chamberlain to the earl of Lennox, in the latter part of the reign of king Alexander III. and beginning of king Robert I. is always designed, in all charters in which he is inserted, granted by that earl, Malcolm Beg, or little; yet he is found, by very authentic documents in the hands of the earl of Perth, and in the public records, to have been surnamed Drummond, and one of the earl's ancestors. The same Malcolm's father, in a charter by the earl of Lennox, in the reign of king Alexander II. is designed Gilchrist Drummond.

I have observed charters of no earlier dates than the reigns of king James V. and queen Mary, with others in the two preceeding reigns, to be the most carelessly and rudely written, most confused and unexact in designations of persons inserted therein, and in divers other circumstances, of any of the kind to be met with in any preceding age; some being therein designed from epithets applicable to their fathers, as John son of black William, Thomas son of long or tall Donald, and

such like. Yea, in this present age there are two gentlemen of Sir Donald MacDonald's family, and Kepach's, termed Donald Gorm, or blue Donald, whose progeny, if existing an age or two after this present, would, with a deal of reason, judge it most ridiculous in any to assert, that their ancestors were not of the surname of MacDonald, because more frequently designed, at least termed, by the epithet Gorm. So that it seems consistent with reason, that the asserters of epithets in place of surnames refuse the existence of any other surnames in these three last ages, in which those epithets are most frequent in evidents, or otherways allow persons to have had other surnames together with them in more ancient times.

THAT people known by the denomination of Scots, of which our Scottish nation is at present composed, may, in respect of the origin of the same, be divided into four different distinct classes, or divisions. The first of these classes consists of these surnames whose origin is purely Scottish, being the genuine progeny of the ancient Scots, which from Ireland, at different junctures and occasions, arrived and settled in Scotland. The second class is composed of such as came from south Britain, or England, at the time of the four grand conquests of that kingdom, and upon some other accounts, and settled here. The third class, or division, consists of such French, as upon account of the mutual amity and correspondence

commenced by the league betwixt Scotland and France, in Charles the Great and king Achaius' reigns, and continued for a great many ages thereafter, upon which, and divers other accounts, a great number of French settled in this nation, of whom are descended a great number of very considerable families. The fourth and last division, being the least of the four, consists mostly of such Danes and Norvegians as were naturalized by our Scottish kings, and obtained possessions in this kingdom upon divers occasions, being upon the accounts permitted to continue in this kingdom, after their countrymen were obliged by king Alexander III. to yield or quit their possession of the northern isles of Scotland, of which they had got a grant from Donald Baan the usurper, for their assistance in supporting him in his usurpation, and by virtue of that grant, retained possession for two hundred years, till obliged to abandon those isles by king Alexander, about the year 1280. However, divers of Danish extract, having, by alliance, and other means, before the said time, obtained considerable estates, were allowed to continue by the benevolence of king Alexander, and the successive kings of Scotland. So that these, with some few others in conjunction with them, of different extracts from the three classes above-mentioned, make up the fourth class, or division, of Scottish surnames.

The first example by which I shall illustrate the class first mentioned, shall be the surname of STEWART, being not only of an extract or descent purely Scottish, but also the only Scottish sur-

name whose ancestor was an immediate son, or lineal descendant, of the race of our ancient Scottish kings. The time and manner of whose descent, though treated of by divers of much greater abilities than I can pretend to, nevertheless agreeable to the account given by our Seneciones, or Shanachies, but especially according to that delivered by a certain genealogical account of that illustrious family, composed in the reign and dedicated to king Charles II. by an unknown author, (which little pamphlet is as well vouched, if not better, than any thing ever I could discover upon that subject,) I shall deliver the origin of that family in the manner following.

Kenneth the Great, king of the Scots, subverter of the Picts, had three sons, Constantine his successor, Ethus, and Gareth. This last had one son, Dorus, whom Mr. Abercromby makes son to Ethus the swift, being by that account grandchild to king Kenneth, as well as by the other, the difference being concerning his father. Gareth, father to Dorus, was first thane of Lochaber. Doire or Dorus had two sons; Kenneth, by some erroneously termed Murdac, and Ferquhard, father to Donald, who murdered king Duff, for which he and his progeny were exterminated. Kenneth had two sons; Murdac his successor, and Gareth thane of Athol. Murdac was married to Dunclina, daughter to king Kenneth III. by whom he had two sons; Bancho his successor, and Alexander: also four daughters; the first married to one of the ancestors of the Douglas', another to Donald, thane of Sutherland, the third to Angus, ancestor

of the Camerons, and the fourth to Malcolm MacRory, lord of Bute.

Bancho, with three of his sons, and his brother-in-law, Hugh Douglas, was murdered by order of the tyrant MacBeath, his fourth son, Fleance, having escaped, and fled to Wales. Bancho's two daughters were married to MacDuff, thane of Fife, and Frederick, ancestor of the Urquharts. Fleance, by Maria Mnesta, daughter to Griffith ap Lewellin, prince of Wales, had Walter, first of the surname of Stewart, being married to Christian, daughter to Allan, lord of Bretaign, in France, by whom he had Allan his successor, who had two sons; Walter his successor, founder of the abbey of Paisley, *anno* 1160, and Simon, ancestor of the Boyds. Walter's successor was Allan the second, whose successor was Walter the third, high justiciary of Scotland. He had two sons; Alexander his successor, and Robert, lord Torbolton, who, by marriage of the heiress of Sir Robert Croc, obtained with her the estates of Croukstoun and Darnly, and was ancestor of the family of Darnly, afterward of Lennox; notwithstanding that, Mr. Abercromby makes Allan, son of John, commonly termed of Bute, ancestor of that family. Alexander had two sons; James his successor, and Walter, who, by marriage of the heiress of Cummine, earl of Monteith, got that earldom, and thereupon changed his surname to Monteith. He had two sons; Murdo his successor, and Sir John Monteith of Rusky, ancestor of the surname of Monteith, and who betrayed Sir William Wallace. Murdo, earl of Monteith, had one son, Allan, who, by marriage

of the heiress of MacDuff, earl of Fife, obtained that earldom, who, having one daughter, conveyed those estates, by marriage, to Robert Stewart, second son to king Robert II. and first of the Stewarts. Both estates, through forfaulter of duke Murdo, his son, fell to the crown. Alexander's third son, by Jean MacRory, heiress of Bute, was John, killed at the battle of Falkirk, *anno* 1298.

James, High Stewart, had one son; Walter, married to Marjory Bruce, daughter to king Robert I. by whom he had one son, Robert, named Bleareye: his mother, when big with child of him, being killed, by a fall from her horse, at that place of Renfrew-moor called Queen Bleareye's Cross, the child, by a doctor there present, was cut out of her belly, and the instrument with which the operation was performed having touched his eye, the same continued to be always tender thereafter, which gave him the epithet of Bleareye. Upon the death of his uncle, king David II. without male issue, he obtained the crown of Scotland, by designation of king Robert II. of whose successors I refer to our public histories.

The second principal branch of that great family, was the family of Lennox, lineally descended from Robert, lord Torbolton, already mentioned, his son, being Allan, first lord Darnly, who had two sons; John his successor, and Allan, who acquired the lands of Faslane, and others, in the Lennox. Allan, of Faslane's son Walter, by marriage of Margaret, heiress of Donald Lennox, earl of Lennox, obtained that earldom; whose son, Duncan, earl of Lennox, had only two daughters; Isabel,

the eldest, married to Murdo, duke of Albany, who, with his father-in-law, the earl of Lennox, and his own two sons, Walter, and Alexander, was, by order of king James I. executed, *anno* 1424, and their estates forfaulted.

John, second lord Darnly, had two sons; Allan his successor, and Robert, first lord of Aubigny, in France. Allan, lord Darnly, married Lilias, second daughter to the last mentioned Duncan, earl of Lennox, and, by her, by gift of her father's forfaulter, got the earldom of Lennox, whose issue enjoyed the same till the reign of king James VI. that the earldom was conferred upon Esme, lord Aubigny, whose grandchild died without issue, in the reign of king Charles II. The earldom having devolved upon an illegitimate son of that king, he sold the same lately, reserving only the title. Of this family are descended the earls of Traquair, and Galloway, with a great many others; the earl of Moray being descended of a son of Murdo, duke of Albany, and the earl of Bute of a son of king Robert III.

Of all other ancient surnames of Scottish descent, or origin, the heroic surname of DOUGLAS justly merits to be mentioned next to that of Stewart; but having briefly touched that surname already, and there being a particular history of the same, I shall insist no further thereon, than to declare, that I agree with the sentiments of those antiquaries who assert the progenitor of, and who first assumed the surname of Douglas, to have been a son of MacDuff, thane of Fife; for which

there are divers arguments used, not necessary to be in this place enumerated.

From the same ancient surname of MacDuff, as already hinted, is descended the surname of WYMESS, the ancestor thereof being Eugenius, son to Constantine, third earl of Fife, in the reign of king Alexander I. It is asserted, the Lesleys and Abernethies are of the same stem with Wymess; but I could not obtain any exact account of the time and manner of the descent of either of these two last off that of MacDuff.

The next instance is of the surname of CAMPBELL, which is of an ancient Scottish origin, however otherwise asserted by some of our historians. I shall briefly glance at the genealogy, and some other matters, relating to this surname, conform to two accounts of the same, in manuscript; the one of these, composed by Mr. Alexander Colvil, from evidents, and other records, of the family of Argyll; the other account, by Neil MacEwen, who, and his ancestors, for divers ages, have been seneciones, or genealogists, of the said family. This last derives the ancient surname of Oduibhne, now Campbell, from Mervie Moir, or Mervin the Great, son to the famous Arthur, king of the Britons, and of Elizabeth, daughter to the king of France, which behoved to have been Childebert, the fifth in descent from Pharamond, who was contemporary with king Arthur.

Mervin is reported to have been a wild untractable man, and upon that account rejected by the

Brittons, though neither this nor any other circumstance relating even to the existence of such a person is any way consistent with probability; for though there be no great reason of so doing, yet there are a great many who doubt of the existence of king Arthur himself, in regard some of his countrymen, in their writings, have so much blended the account of his life and actions with so many ridiculous and monstrous fables, as have very much prejudged the credit due to his existence and heroic atchievements. This brave king is recorded to have begun his reign in the year 518, and in a reign of twenty-four years to have gained twelve victories, with the assistance of Goranus, king of the Scots, and Lothus, king of the Picts, over the Saxons, till in the end he expelled most part of them, and obliged such as stayed in his kingdom to be in subjection to him. But much prosperity having rendered him and his subjects too insolent, they endeavoured to defraud Mordred, king of the Picts, of the British crown, which, through defect of Arthur's issue, justly belonged to him, which was the occasion of a bloody battle betwixt them, in which both these kings lost their lives, and so shattered the state of the Brittons, that it could never be retrieved thereafter, till in the end ruined by the Saxons. King Arthur was not only very much esteemed by the Brittons, but also by most others, being accounted one of the world's nine worthies, of which three were Jews, Joshua, David, and Judas Macabeus; three Christians, Arthur of the Brittons, Charlemaign of France, and Godfrey of Bulloign; three Pa-

gans, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, and Hector of Troy. But as for Mervin, this pretended son of king Arthur, there is no probable ground for the existence of any such person, it being plainly recorded, by all such histories as make mention of this king, that he never had any issue, nor was ever married to any but his queen Gwyvanor, who survived himself: nor would the British and French histories have wholly omitted a matter of that importance, were there the least ground for the same; neither would the Brittons, however wild or foolish he might be, have past by that king's son, whom they so much valued, and confer their crown upon one Constantine, a nobleman, who had no manner of pretence thereto; much less would Modred, the Pictish king, being only king Arthur's cousin-german, contend for a crown, which, by so plain a right, pertained to another. So that, although by this account the surname of Oduibhne is said to have got that denomination from the marriage of Ferithar Olla, the fourth in descent from Mervin, with a daughter of Diarmuid Oduibhne, a principal nobleman of Ireland, and to have not only obtained from this Diarmuid the denomination of Oduibhne, but also that of Siol Diarmuid, by which that surname is in Irish frequently designed; yet this supposition is wholly groundless, there being no instance of any ancient Scottish or Irish surnames obtaining their ancient or principal denomination by any such means. Some of the progenitors of this surname are by the said account reported to have been married to grandchildren of Con Centimachus, and Neil the

Great, two of the most famous kings that ever reigned in Ireland; so that, if they were used to take denominations from such families as they married into, the same would much rather be assumed from names of one of those kings, than from that of any nobleman their subject.

But passing this topic, I come to the account most consistent with probability, in relation to the origin of that surname. The ancestor of the same was Diarmuid Oduibhne, who, as one of the principal Phylarchæ, or captains, came from Ireland with some of the Scots, who either in king Fergus' time, or in that of one of the two colonies, which at different junctures came from that kingdom, and settled in Argyll and the isles adjacent. For though the generality of our historians, more especially genealogists, rather to please the taste of those of the modern times, than in any great measure to promote the truth, or at least probability, use their utmost efforts to assign some plausible manner, and stated period, concerning the origin of ancient surnames; yet all amounts to no more than probable conjecture, supported only by probable and solid tradition, of which that most consistent with sound reason, and probability, ought most to obtain: so that, in the accounts of the origin of this, or any other of our ancient Scottish surnames, there is as little absurdity in presuming the same to be the offspring of those who first settled here, as, by a specious kind of story to assert them, descended at such a time, and from such a person, some eight or nine hundred, or a thousand years ago, there being as few

written documents to confirm the last, as the first of these accounts. Nor is it in reason to be supposed, as I have hinted already, that the whole progeny of those Scots, who are recorded to have settled before, at, and in some process of time after the coming of King Fergus I. here, to be so totally mouldered away, and extinct, as that few or none of these surnames now in being, and of an ancient Scottish extract, can be pretended to be their genuine progeny, but that each surname must be put to the shift of framing a later origin for themselves, which, when affected, is not a whit better founded, nor more satisfactory to people of understanding, than the former method; to which, lest I appear too closely to adhere, I shall relate the account most agreed to, conform to the more modern method of genealogizing, in relation to the origin of the above-mentioned surname.

Thus, in place of Mervie, or, as others call him, Smervie Moir, supposed son of king Arthur, these other genealogists, with a greater show of probability, mention Diarmuid Oduibhne, a very famous Irish nobleman, and much celebrated for valour and other heroic atchievements by the Irish historians, who, having come to Scotland in the beginning of the reign of king Goranus, or Coranus, about the year 512, married a daughter of the said king, of whom he begot Ferithar Uor, or Ferithar the dun. From this Diarmuid, according to the above antiquaries, the surname obtained the two designations of Oduibhne, and Siol Diarmuid, who flourished in, or some little time after that of king Arthur, which gave rise to the story of his

being son to that king, as also of divers of his posterity being called Arthurs, whence no inference can be deduced of their descent from king Arthur, that christian name being used among the Irish long before king Arthur's time: as, for instance, Cormac MacArtur, son of Arthur, to-named Ulfada, or long beard, king of Ireland, a great many years before the time of Arthur, king of the Brittons: as also a great many others, of account, in Ireland, in very ancient times. This Diarmuid seems either to have been of the same origin with the sept of Scottish Oduibhnes, and therefore to have been by them, at the juncture, assumed for Phylarcha, or chieftain; or, which is more probable, to be lineally descended from the first Diarmuid, and upon account of the grandeur by marriage of the Scottish king's daughter, and other achievements, to have been accounted the progenitor of that surname, and from whom the same was first so denominated.

Ferithar Uor was married to a great grandchild of Neill the Great, to-named Naoighealla, or nine hostages, whom he is recorded to have had in his custody, at one time, from several Spanish and British princes, with whom he had been at variance, being thence termed keeper of nine hostages, and one of the most famous of the Irish kings. Ferithar Uor's successor was Duibhne, or Duina, an ordinary christian name in those times. Duina's successor was called Arthur, whose mother was Murdac, thane of Murray's daughter. There is no account of the family this Arthur married into: however, his successor, called Ferithar Olla, or

the physician, is reported to have been married to one Diarmuid Oduibhne's daughter, which is a grand mistake, as already observed. Ferithar Olla's successor was Duibhne Faltdearge, or Duina red hair; he is said to have been married to a grandchild of Neil the Great, which is no less an error than that above-mentioned, as appears from the vast distance of time betwixt these two. His successor was Ferithar Fionruadh, or whitish-red. His successor was Duina Dearg, or red, his son being Duibhne Doun, or Duina the brown, from the colour of his hair. His successor was Diarmuid MacDuine, or son of Duina.

This Diarmuid MacDuina had two sons; Arthur with the red armour, either from artificial colour, or frequent colouring thereof with blood. The second son was Duina white tooth. The eldest of these, called Art Armdhearg, or Arthur red armour, had three sons; Sir Paul Oduine, or MacDuine, knight of Lochow, of which estate all his progenitors already mentioned were proprietors. This Sir Paul was termed Paul Ansporrain, or Paul with the purse, being treasurer to king Malcolm III. as is commonly alledged. His two brethren were Arthur Dreinuch, of whom descended Macarture, of Inchdreiny, and others of that name, upon Lochow side. The other brother was called also Arthur, of whom descended the family of Darnly, in Lennox, lately extinct. Of the first of these two Arthurs descended also the family of Strachur, which, though recorded to be descended of one of the knights of Lochow, some generations after the assumption of the surname

of Campbell, yet it is not so probable as the above descent, in regard of the long continued pretension of the family of Strachur to more antiquity than that of Argyll, which could be founded upon no other ground than that above related.

Diarmuid MacDuibhne's second son, Duina white tooth, had one son, called Gillecollum, or Malcolm Oduibhne, who first married the lord of Carrick's daughter, by whom he had three sons. The eldest of these, Gilmorrie, was ancestor of the MacNeachts of Lochaber, and other parts of Argyllshire. The second son was Corcarua, ancestor of the MacUilins, or rather MacAilins, in Ireland. The third son, Duncan Drumanach, in regard he resided beyond Drumalbin, was conform to this genealogy, ancestor of the Drummonds. But that surname refuse this, and assert their ancestor to have come to Scotland with queen Margaret, queen to king Malcolm III. and while the ship, in which the queen was, happened to be in very much danger by a storm, that the dexterity of that gentleman, in piloting the same, was a great means of the preservation of the ship and passengers, whence he obtaided the surname of Drummond, importing the top of the waves, as is very much illustrated by the armorial bearing of that surname, being three barrs waved, or undee.

Malcolm Oduin, after his first lady's death, went to France, and married the heiress of the Beauchamps, or, as in Latin, *Campus Bellus*, being niece to the duke of Normandy. By her he had two sons, Dionysius and Archibald, who, from the

inheritance got with their mother, changed their surname from Oduin to Campbell. Dionysius, the eldest, continued in France, and was ancestor of a family, designed Campbell, in that kingdom, of which family was count Tallard, a Mareschal of France, carried prisoner to England in the reign of queen Anne, and divers others of quality. The second brother came to Scotland, as some say, an officer in William duke of Normandy's army, at his conquest of England, *anno* 1066. And coming to Argyllshire, married his cousin Eva Oduin, only daughter to Sir Paul Oduibhne, or Paul Ansporrain. She being heiress of Lochow, and he having retained this surname of Campbell, as did his successors, the whole clan of Oduibhne, in a small tract of time, in compliance with their chief, assumed that surname, as did many others in this kingdom upon the like occasion.

This Archibald, who first assumed the surname of Campbell, his successor was called Duncan, who, by marriage of one called Dorothy MacFiachir, heiress of the upper part of the barony of Lochow, united these two estates. He was succeeded by Colin the Bald, who married a niece of king Alexander I.: or, as others, with no less probability, assert, of king Alexander II. This Colin was instituted master of the household to the king, and the king's lieutenant in the shire of Argyll, and west isles. Colin's eldest son was Archibald. He had a second son, Hugh, ancestor of the old house of Loudon, in the shire of Ayr, they having got that estate by Crawford, heiress thereof, as did her ancestor acquire the

same by marriage of the only daughter of Sir James Loudon, heiress of that estate. The race of the old Campbells of Loudon terminating also in an heiress, in the reign of king Charles I. Campbell of Lawers, descended of a son of Glenorchy, by marriage of the said heiress, obtained that estate, being afterwards chancellor of Scotland, and grandfather to Hugh, the present earl. Colin the Bald had also two illegitimate sons; the eldest, Taus Corr, or Thomas the singular, he was ancestor of the MacTauses, or Thomsons, of Argyllshire, and some other parts. The name of the other illegitimate son was Iver, of whom the MacIvers of Glasrie, and other parts.

Colin the Bald was succeeded by his son Archibald, who had two sons; Duncan his successor, and Dugald, ancestor of the old family of Craignish. Archibald was succeeded by his son Duncan, whose successor was Dugal. His successor was Archibald, who married the lord of Carrick's daughter, by whom he had Colin Moir, or the great, being so both in body and spirit. He married a daughter of one Sir John Sinclair, by whom he had his successor Sir Neil. This Colin Moir was killed by his neighbour, John MacDougal, lord of Lorn, at a place called the Strein, being a ridge of mountains betwixt Lorn and Lochow. It is thought the family of Argyll derived the designation of MacCuillain Moir from this Colin; but I am more apt to believe that designation was derived from Colin, first earl of Argyll, and chancellor of Scotland in the reign of king James II. Sir Neill was married to lady

Marjory Bruce, sister to king Robert, which was the occasion of the close adherence of Sir Neill, and his son, Sir Colin, to the interest of that prince, and performing many signal services to him and king David II. his son. Sir Neill had a son, called Dugald, or rather Duncan, ancestor of MacDonachy, now Campbell, of Inverraw, and other gentlemen of that name, the said Duncan's mother being a daughter of Sir John Cameron, Lochiel's ancestor, and second lady to Sir Neil. He had another son; Sir John of Moulin, afterward earl of Athole. The further account of this surname is set forth at large in Mr. Crawford's Peerage, to which I refer the reader.

There is also, of ancient Scottish descent, the surname of OGILVIE, descended of Bredus, a brother, or rather son, to the famous Gilchrist, earl of Angus, who flourished in the reign of king William, of Scotland, and was married to that king's sister.

The surname of KENNEDY is in like manner of great antiquity in this kingdom, being originally descended of that once potent surname of the Mac-Kennedys of Ireland, of which surname was that brave king, Brian Kennedy, to-named Boraimh, or Taxer, being contemporary with our king Malcolm II.

Thus having adduced a sufficient number of instances for the illustration of surnames of an ancient Scottish descent, being the first class of Scot-

tish surnames, I shall next proceed to give instances of these whose descent is from England, being the second class of those surnames, now reputed Scottish ones.

The first instance I shall adduce of the same, is the surname of GRAHAM, which, according to Buchanan, and some others of our historians and antiquaries, is descended from one Fulgentius, a nobleman, lineally descended from the ancient kings of the Brittons, who, in the beginning of the third century of the christian epocha, with an army of his countrymen, attempting to free themselves and country from the Roman servitude, their just endeavours were nevertheless frustrated by the superior power of their adversaries, in which exigency Fulgentius, and divers of his associates, were obliged to flee for refuge to Donald, first of that name, king of the Scots, then at war with the Romans, who not only gave a very kind reception to these strangers, but bestowed estates upon Fulgentius, and some other principal men of them, whose posterity remained always thereafter in Scotland. The principal person of Fulgentius' progeny, having, after the fatal battle of Dun, in which Eugenius, king of the Scots, with the greatest part of his nobility, and others of any account of the Scottish nation, were killed by Maximus the Roman legate, in conjunction with the perfidious Picts, gone with divers other Scots into Denmark, he continued there till the restoration of king Fergus II. *anno* 404, or, as Boece, 423.

That person of Fulgentius' race who went to

Denmark, whose proper name was Græme, married in Denmark, and his daughter was married to king Fergus II. though others relate that Græme's daughter was mother to king Fergus, being married to Erthus his father, which carries little probability, in regard Græme was not only a principal assistant to king Fergus in his own lifetime, but was after his death elected governor, or regent of the kingdom, during the minority of his son Eugenius, and having in that time broke over the wall of Abercorn, greatly harrassed the dominions of the Brittons; so that, from that adventure, that wall is said to have obtained the denomination, retained as yet, of Graham's dyke, which denomination others assert to be taken from the emperor Severus, who repaired that wall, which was first begun by Julius Agricola in the reign of the emperor Domitian. The reason given for the last, is, that Severus being born in Africa, was of a very black and swarthy complexion, and that thence the dyke was termed Grim's dyke; grim, in Irish, signifying black, or swarthy, whence the Scottish word grim is derived. However this be, the first seems the most probable; nor can these great atchievements, in Eugenius' minority, be imputed to Græme, by reason of his too great age, whereas, the translator of Boetius calls Fergus' mother Rocha, daughter to a nobleman of Denmark, called Roricius, or rather Rodericus. And that which very much evinces Græme's origin, as above asserted, is, that his grandchild Eugenius, upon assumption of the government, (as our historians

relate,) gave, for pretence of the war commenced by him against the Brittons, the restitution of his grandfather Graham's lands.

Our history gives no account of the posterity of this Græme for some ages. The first to be met with of them is that Graham who, with Dunbar and the forces of Lothian, appeared in the rear of the Danes, when in battle with king Indulph and his army, which was the occasion of the defeat of the first. The next was Constantine, married to Avila, daughter to Kenneth, one of the ancestors of the Stewarts, in the year 1030. And in the year 1125, William de Graham is witness to the foundation charter of Holyroodhouse, in the reign of king David I. The said William's son, Sir David, got charters of Charletoun, and other lands in Forfarshire, in the reign of king William of Scotland; as did his son, another Sir David, from Malduin, earl of Lennox, of the lands of Strablane, and from Patrick Dunbar, earl of Dunbar, or March, of the lands of Dundaff and Strathcarron, in the reign of king Alexander II.; as did his successor, also David, the lands of Kincardine, from Malise Foreteth, earl of Strathern, in the reign of king Alexander III. Before all which lands, mentioned in the above charters, that surname seems to have been in possession of Abercorn, Eliestoun, and other lands in Lothian. And though one Muir is reported to have had Abercorn in the reign of king Alexander III. yet in all probability he has had but some part thereof, acquired from the Grahams, which, after having

continued some little time with Muir, returned to the Grahams again, and went from them with Margaret, heiress thereof, to James, brother to the earl of Douglas, in the reign of king James I.

There were two principal families of this name in the reign of king Alexander III. the one being of Abercorn. Both these are mentioned among the *Magnates Scotiæ*, in cognition of the debate betwixt Bruce and Baliol anent the Scottish kingdom, as also inserted in that famous letter, written by king Robert I. to the pope, in the year 1320. These two thereafter were united, when Patrick Graham, of Eliestoun and Kilbride, second son to Sir Patrick Graham, of Kincardine, in the reign of king Robert III. married the only daughter and heiress of David, earl of Strathern, and by her obtained that earldom, whose son Malise was deprived of the same, by king James I. in regard that estate was entailed to heirs male; but he gave Malise, in lieu of Strathern, the earldom of Monteith, *anno* 1428, whose posterity continued for nine generations earls thereof. William, the ninth earl, having no issue, disponed his estate to the marquis of Montrose, and died, *anno* 1694.

The first cadet of this family was Sir John Graham, of Kilbride, Gartmore's ancestor. And the last cadet, of any repute, was Walter, ancestor to Graham of Gartur.

The next in antiquity, of surnames thus descended, and who were obliged to leave their native country by the Romans, are by some antiqua-

ries reported to be the SEATONS, though there be little to be found in any of our private records concerning that surname till the reign of king David I. when Alexander de Seaton is mentioned, as also his son Philip, in a charter of those lands, which for the most part that family enjoyed, till of late, in the reign of king William. The famous and loyal Sir Christopher Seaton, who was married to Christian Bruce, sister to king Robert I. is very much celebrated in the account of the wars managed after the death of king Alexander III. and no less so is that heroic action of his son, Sir Alexander, in keeping of the town of Berwick, though at the expence of the lives of his two sons, both executed by the orders of that rigorous prince, king Edward III.

Those surnames which were obliged to abandon England, through the tyranny and oppression of the Normans, upon the conquest of England, are so very numerous, that I can only mention some few instances of the same.

As first, the LEVINGSTONS, derived from Levingus, a proper name frequent among the Saxons: as was also Alphingus, or, as it is ordinarily expressed, Elphingus, ancestor of the Elphinstons. These, with a great many others, ancestors of divers of our principal surnames, came to Scotland with Edgar Atheling, and his sister Margaret, queen to our king Malcolm III. some little time after the Norman Conquest, and were all courteously received, and many of them endowed with

estates, by that magnificent prince. The ancestor of the Levingstons having settled in West Lothian, denominated these lands, first acquired by him, Levingston, from his own proper name, which continued to be so for some descents. The first of that surname, found mentioned in any private record, is called Levingus, in the reign of king David I. This name was agrandized by two several means; first, by Sir William Levingston's marriage with the heiress of Callander, and with her obtained that estate, in the reign of king David II.: secondly, by Sir Alexander, this Sir William's grandchild, being governor of Scotland, in the minority of king James II.

As the Levingstons gave denomination to their lands in West Lothian, so the ancestor of Elphingstons, after the same manner, denominated the lands first acquired by him in Mid Lothian, which, by an heiress, in the reign of king James I. came to the Johnstouns, that part of the estate in Stirlingshire, called formerly Airthbeg, (as Mr. Crawford asserts,) being retained by the heir male, and changed into that of Elphingston.

The HAMILTONS, HEPBURNS, GRAYS, and a great many others, are of a more late descent from England than these already mentioned. All I shall observe, concerning them, is only in relation to that of Hamilton, the descent of which, from England, seems to be of greater antiquity, by far, than what is generally asserted by our historians; and I am more apt to join sentiments

with the author of the English Peerage, who affirms the ancestor of the Hamiltons to have come to this kingdom in the reign of king William. And that which in a great measure confirms me in this opinion, is a charter, in the register of Dunbarton, pertaining to Hamilton of Bardowie, granted by Duncan, earl of Lennox, to John Hamilton of Bathernock, now Bardowie, upon resignation of John Hamilton, his father, of those lands, in the year 1394, and the reign of king Robert III. So that the lord Hamilton's son, who married Galbraith, heiress of Bathernock, being named, by all who write of that surname, David, and owned to be a later cadet than the ancestors of the Hamiltons of Preston, Innerwick, Bathgate, and a great many others, evinces these writers either to be in an error in relation to the descent or those of Bardowie, or, which is more probable, in that of the surname in general, as to their ancestor's coming to Scotland in the reign of king Robert I. For though it be evident, that, by some several descents, Bardowie's ancestor is later than divers cadets of that family, yet, by the above charter, in 1394, being only eighty-eight years posterior to the coronation of king Robert I. the grandfather of that John, in whose favour that charter was granted, must be allowed to have existed at, if not before, the coronation of the said king, and consequently before the time allotted for the first coming of the ancestor of the surname of Hamilton to this kingdom.

The next class of Scottish surnames is those

whose descent is from the French, being also a very considerable part of our Scottish surnames. The first instance of these is the surname of FRASER, so denominated from the three strawberry leaves, termed in French *frazes*, which that surname use for armorial bearing. Some other surnames, of a French extract, have also obtained denominations from the same cause, as the Sharps, Purvesses, and others. The Frasers are said to be descended of Peter, count of Troile, who came to Scotland some little time after the league betwixt Scotland and France. That surname is not only found upon record, but to have been divided in divers great branches, or families, in the reigns of king Malcolm IV. and king William; one of which, in the reign of the latter, was chancellor of Scotland. That great man, and loyal patriot, Sir Simon, so famous in the reign of king Robert I. was lord of Tweedale, and resided in Oliver castle, in that country.

The Tweedies, now possessors of that castle, and adjacent estate, are supposed to be descended of the ancient Frasers. Lovat's ancestor was also called Simon, his mother being a sister of king Robert I. From this last Simon the Lords Lovat are always termed MacShimes, or, contractedly, MacImmey, the same with Simpson, whose family is by far the most numerous of any other of that surname.

The SINCLAIRS are also of a French descent, being earls of Orkney, afterwards of Caithness; William, or rather Henry, earl of Orkney and

Caithness, being chancellor in the reign of king James II. and of the greatest grandeur of any nobleman of his age. Also the Montgomeries, as their arms and motto evince, are of a French, or, as others assert, of a Norman origin; as are also the Bruces, and the Baillies, thought to be descended of the ancient Balliols, and the Browns, with a great many others, too numerous to be here mentioned.

The fourth and last, and indeed the least, class of Scottish Surnames, is those whose descent is from Denmark, and some other northern regions. Some antiquaries, more especially our heralds, presume the RAMSEYS, CARNEGIES, and MUNROES, to have come originally from Germany, by reason of their armorial bearings. The GRANTS assert themselves to be of a Danish descent, from Aquin de Grand, or Grant. Sir John de Grant is one of these mentioned in the debates which fell out after the death of king Alexander III. The MENZIES's also contend to be of a Danish extract; as also some others, more especially of the clans, as shall be hereafter specified.

Having thus briefly illustrated, by instances, the several classes of Scottish surnames, I shall proceed next to an account of the clans, or those whose surnames commence with *Mac*, of which such as are nobilitated, being so fully treated of in the Scottish Peerage, shall not therefore be touched in this place; nor the MacDowals of Galloway, MacIlvains, MacGuffogs, MacCullos, and some others, who, though of an ancient Scottish

extract, yet having no manner of correspondence or agreement in language, habit, or any other circumstances with those most properly termed clans, shall not here be insisted upon. I shall therefore confine myself wholly to the Highland clans, which are ordinarily conjoined in our old records and acts of parliament.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF

THE MACDONALDS.

HAVING already offered some few arguments for evincing of some of the clans, and other surnames of a Scottish extract, to be the genuine progeny of the ancient Scots, who at different junctures planted the western parts of Scotland, I shall not, in this place, farther insist upon that subject, but proceed to an account of the MACDONALDS, who, for many ages, were of the greatest esteem, and deservedly had the precedency of other clans. For had not their fate been to be planted in the most remote corners of this kingdom, and by that means no object or occasion offered of exerting that valour and vigour so very natural to them, their actions had been recorded in as bright characters as those of the Douglasses, or any others of our heroic surnames.

The chieftain, or Phylarcha, of this tribe, or clan, and from whom the principal men thereof are descended, according to Mr. Welsh, and some

other Irish, also some of our Scottish seneciones, or genealogists, about a century before our Saviour's nativity, was Coll, to-named Vuais, who had two cousin-germans of the same name, they being, by three several sons, grandchildren to Con Cenchathach, or Constantine Centimachus, king of Ireland, so named from his fighting a hundred conflicts, in his time, against foreign invaders of his kingdom, and homebred rebels, as the Irish History asserts. From these three Colls some of the most ancient of the clans deduce their descent; and as these are termed descendants of the Milesian stem, so they are also designed Sliochd nan Colluibh, or the posterity of the Colls; in the like manner, as the Campbells are designed both Clanoduibhne and Siol Diarmuid, the children of Duina, and progeny of Dermid, two of the most famed of their ancestors.

Coll Vuais's son was called Gillebreid, or, as our histories name him, Bredius. This Bredius, in the reign of king Ederus, about fifty-four years before our Saviour's nativity, with an army of his islanders, entered Morvern, and the other western continent, which having with great barbarity depopulated, he was in his return met by king Ederus, with an army, and entirely defeated. Bredius hardly escaping, by absconding himself in a cave, was thence termed Bredius, or Gillebreid of the cave. However, after the kings departure he obtained new forces, by which he obliged the inhabitants of these parts to become his tributaries, in which he was not disturbed by king Ederus, then under some apprehensions of an invasion by Julius

Cæsar, who at that juncture had invaded the south parts of Britain.

Bredius's son was called Sumerledus, from whom the chieftains of that clan were, for some ages, designed MacSoirles, or Sumerledsons; as Richard Southwell, an English writer, in his account of the petty kings, or Reguli, of some of the British isles, while under the dominion of the Norvegian kings, asserts, who says, that those Reguli possessed all the isles round Britain, at least Scotland, except those possessed by the son of Sumerledus, being most of our Ebudæ, or Western Isles, then possessed by the MacDonalds.

Sumerled's son was called Rannald; Rannald's son was called Donald; which name continued for several successive generations, and from which that clan obtained their denomination. The first of these Donalds of the isles, found upon record, was that Donald, who, about the year 248 of the christian epocha, in the reign of king Findoch, made a descent upon the continent of Argyll, but being defeated by the king, was killed with a great many more of his men: for revenge of whose death, his son, of the same name, in the year 262, and first year of the reign of king Donald II. with an army, entered the continent, and being encountered with an army hastily levied by the king, that prince was defeated by the islanders. The king dying of his wounds in a few days, Donald of the isles usurped the government, and retained the same for twelve years, at the end of which he was killed by Cratlinth, king Findoch's son, who kept down his successors, as did some of the suc-

ceeding kings. They made no great disturbance for a considerable time, till, the year 762, one of these chiefs of the isles, called Donald, made an insurrection, but was defeated by king Eugenius. That insurrection, made by Donald Baan, is elsewhere mentioned.

The chiefs, or principal persons of this surname, as soon as the title of thane came to be used, were, among the first of our nobility, dignified therewith, by the title, first of thanes of the isles, and afterwards thanes of Argyll, upon account of that large tract of land, possessed by the chiefs of that surname, besides Kintyre and Knapdale, all along the western sea-coasts of Argyllshire. Of these were the two successive Sumerleds, mentioned in the reigns of king Malcolm IV. and king Alexander I. of Scotland. The last of these two Sumerleds' successor was Reginald, or Rannald, mentioned in the records of the abbey of Paisley, being founder of the abbey of Sanda; Rannald's son was Donald, mentioned also in a mortification made by him to the abbey of Paisley.

Donald had two sons, Angus, or Æneas, his successor, and Alexander, progenitor of the Mac-Alasters in Argyllshire. This Angus, upon account of a mortification made by him, is mentioned in the records of the abbey of Paisley. Angus had also two sons, Alexander, his successor, and John, ancestor of the MacEans of Ardnamurchan, now almost extinct. To Alexander, mentioned in some old records of Argyll, succeeded Angus Moir, or the Great, who, with two thousand men, was with king Robert Bruce at the

battle of Bannockburn. Angus' successor was also called Angus, being married to a daughter of Okeyan, lord Dunseverin in Ireland. His successor was John, who very much aggrandized his family by marrying of lady Margaret Stewart, daughter to king Robert II. as is evident by two charters, by that king, in his favour, by designation of his beloved son-in-law, of the lands of Moydert and Croydert. This John had four sons, Donald his successor, John of Glins, ancestor to the earl of Antrim, in Ireland, Alexander, by some said to be ancestor of the MacDonalds of Keppoch, but both, by what I can find, are errors; and Allan, who was ancestor of the captain of Clanronald; whereas, Keppoch's ancestor is reported to have been Rannald, son to Alexander of Argyll, and the Isles, in the reign of king Alexander III.

Donald, lord of the Isles, married a daughter of Walter Lesley, who, in right of his wife, daughter of William, last earl of Ross, was earl of that estate. He had one son, who left only one daughter, heiress to that earldom; which daughter having become a nun, disponed her estate to John Stewart, earl of Buchan, second son to Robert, earl of Fife and Montieth, then Governor of Scotland. The lord of the Isles, judging himself prejudged by the said right, applied to the governor for redress, but to no purpose; whereupon, resolving to assert his right by arms, he, for that effect, levied ten, or, as most assert, twelve thousand men, and marching through Murray, was encountered, with an army of equal number, by Alexan-

der Stewart, earl of Marr, the bravest general of his age, at a village called Harlaw, in the year 1411; betwixt whom was fought the most bloody conflict that for many ages had been observed to have been fought betwixt native Scottish men, till night parted them. Next morning, observing their mutual loss, they marched off with the small remains of their several armies. However, the lord of the Isles, in a little time thereafter, took possession of the earldom of Ross, and left the same to his successor, Alexander, designed earl of Ross, Kintyre, and Inchegal, or west Isles. He had also another son, Donald Balloch, or spotted Donald, who, upon the accession of king James I. to the throne, and his depriving his brother, Alexander, lord of the Isles, of the earldom of Ross, and imprisoning him, levied an army of ten thousand men, and being engaged at Ennerlochy, by the Stewarts, earls of Marr and Caithness, their army was defeated by that of Balloch, with the death of the earl of Caithness, one of the generals: but upon the king's approach with another army, Donald Balloch was deserted by a great many of his forces, and was obliged to flee to Ireland, where, at king James's desire, he was executed.

Alexander, earl of Ross and the Isles, was married to the earl of Huntley's daughter, of which marriage he had three sons, John, his successor, Hugh, first of Slate, ancestor of Sir Donald Mac-Donald, and, as most assert, Alexander, ancestor of Glengary. John, earl of Ross, married a daughter of James, lord Levingston, by whom he had issue, and being deprived, by forfaulture, of

the earldom of Ross, for some disloyal practices, in the minority of king James III. his other estate was conveyed, in favour of Donald, grandson to this John, by Angus, his natural son. This Donald also dying without issue, king James V. took the estate into his own hand; but this does not hold with the assertion of most of the seneciones, who record the affairs of this surname. They controvert the above account, by asserting that this Donald, last lord of the Isles, died in the reign of king James VI. and leaving no issue, the king took the estate into his own hands, and afterwards disponed it to a brother of the earl of Argyll, who dying without issue, all those lands fell into the family of Argyll, as they yet continue. That which confirms this opinion is, that the lord of the Isles is mentioned in Knox's History, to have received pay from Henry VIII. king of England, in the time of the earl of Arran's regency, which was after the death of king James V. It is also asserted, that the ancestor of MacDonald of Slate, was son to Angus, lord of the Isles, and brother to that John who was married to a daughter of king Robert II. and that the ancestor of MacDonald of Lergie came off the family of MacDonald much about the same time. But, seeing there are more who adhere to the first than the last account, I shall leave the same to be determined by those better seen in the concerns of that name; observing, only, that MacDonald of Slate hath always been reputed the chief family of that surname, since the extinction of the lords of the Isles, and, as such, is always designed, by way

eminency, MACONEL, or MACDONALD, without any further distinction.

This surname was formerly, and at present, divided into six different families, which retain the surname of MacDonald; and other six families, which pass under other other denominations, yet own their descent to be off the family of MacDonald.

The first of those families who retain the surname of MacDonald, is that of Slate, being not only the latest descended, but also possessed of the most plentiful estate, of any other of that surname, both in the isle of Sky and the western continent of Morvean and Croydert. The present MacDonald of Slate is a boy, being son to James MacDonald of Orinsay, second brother to the late Sir Donald. The next principal man of that family is William MacDonald, present tutor of Slate, and youngest brother to the said Sir Donald. The principal residence of that family is the castle of Duntuilm, situated in the north part of the isle of Sky. They have also another place of residence, adorned with stately edifices, pleasant gardens, and other regular polices, called Armodel, upon the south coast of the same isle.

The second family of that surname, of most repute, next to that of Slate, in respect of estate, and all other circumstances, is that of Clanronald; the principal man of which is designed captain of Clanronald, and in the Irish language Macmhicaillain, or the son of Allanson; it seeming that his proper name, who was progenitor of this sept, and came first off the family of MacDonald, was Allan. The

whole tribe is also termed Siolaillain, or the progeny of Allan. The person of best repute of this family, next to the captain, is MacRonald of Benecula. This family, having an old quarrel with the surname of Fraser, determined the same by a formal conflict, in the time of the regency of queen Mary of Guise, mother to queen Mary of Scotland, at the village of Harlaw, famous for the battle, fought formerly thereat, by Stewart, earl of Mar, and MacDonald, earl of Ross. There were said to be upwards of two thousand men on both sides, of which scarce a hundred are said to have survived that fatal conflict. The northern branch of the name of Fraser was in a manner cut off; but Providence favoured them so far, that eighty of their principal men left their wives with child, all of whom were delivered of sons, who all came to age. The principal residence of the captain of Clanronald is Castletirim, in the western continent of Moydert, where a good part of this gentleman's estate lies, the other part lying in North and South Uists, in the first of which isles the captain ordinarily resides.

The third family, of best repute, of that surname, is MacDonald of Glengary. The next principal man of this family, to Glengary, is Angus MacDonald, brother to the late Glengary, a gentleman of good account and circumstances. Glengary's interest lies mostly in that part of Lochaber, within the shire of Inverness. Glengary, in their native language, is designed MacMhicallester, or the son of Alexander. This gentleman's residence is the castle of Innergray, in Lochaber; but that

castle not being now in repair, he resides in an island, in a loch, called Locheawich, in the said country.

The fourth principal family of this surname is that of Kepoch, ordinarily designed MacHicraneill, or the son of Ronaldson. His residence is in Kepoch, in the lower part of Lochaber, which, together with Glenroy, the property whereof belongs to the laird of MacIntosh, being a large tract of land, is possessed by the present Kepoch, and hath been so for divers ages by his ancestors, without any other acknowledgment to MacIntosh, than such a gratuity as they thought fit to give. The late laird of MacIntosh, in the year 1687, endeavouring to dispossess Kepoch of these lands by force, raised twelve hundred of his own men, and obtained from the government the concurrence of a company of the regular forces, under command of captain MacKenzie of Suddey. Kepoch, with a few more than the half of that number, encountered with MacIntosh and his party, and entirely defeated the same, with the death of captain MacKenzie, and a great many others, having taken MacIntosh prisoner, and obliged him to renounce his pretensions to those lands, for which Kepoch was denounced rebel; but the revolution coming on the subsequent year, he was not further prosecuted for that affair, and the present laird of MacIntosh having given him a new grant of these lands, he continues in possession of the same. Next to this family are Ronald, Alexander, and Angus, brethren to the present Coll MacDonald of Kepoch.

The fifth principal family of this surname is that of Largy. This gentleman's residence is in the south part of the peninsula of Kintyre, within four miles of the Mule, or cape of Kintyre. The next man of account, to this family, is MacDonald of Sanda, residing in the said country.

The sixth principal family of this name, is MacDonald of Glencoe, his residence being in Polliwig, in Glencoe. The next principal man, of this family, is MacDonald of Attriatain, in the same country.

The first of those families, of another denomination, which derive their origin from that of MacDonald, is that of MacCallaster, the principal man of which is MacCallaster of Loup, whose principal residence is in Airdpatrick, upon the south side of the west Loch-Tarbit, in Knapdale, in the shire of Argyll. The next principal man, of this family, is MacCallaster of Tarbit, in the same shire.

The second principal family, of those of another denomination, is that of MacNab, his principal residence being at Kinally, in Braidalbin, in the shire of Perth. This gentleman is recorded to be descended of a son of the first abbot of Inchchaffery, whose surname was MacDonald, in the beginning of the reign of king Alexander II. The lairds of MacNab had of old a very good interest in those parts, but lost the greatest part thereof upon account of their assisting of MacDougal, lord of Lorn, against king Robert Bruce, at the conflict of Dalree. There are MacNabs of Incheun, and Acharn, with several other landed gentlemen,

besides the principal family in those parts. There is also a pretty numerous sept of the MacNabs, in the county of Donegale, in Ireland, who term themselves MacNabanies, but own their descent from the Scottish MacNabs, or Abbotsons.

The third family, of this kind, is that of the MacIntyres, the principal person of these being MacIntyre of Glennoe, in Glenorchy, in the shire of Perth. The other heritors, of that name, are the MacIntyres of Corries, and Cruachan.

The fourth family, of this kind, is that of MacAphie, whose ancestors, for many ages, were lairds of the isle of Collinsay, which was violently wrested from that family, in the beginning of the reign of king Charles I. by Coll Keitach MacDonald, who lost his life, and unjust purchase, in the time of the civil wars: but the interest was never restored to MacAphie. The greatest part of that name reside in Lochaber, and Upper Lorn,

The fifth of these families is that of MacKechoirn, whose principal residence is at Killellan, within two miles of the cape of Kintyre. The sixth, and last, is that of the MacKechnies. The interest of the principal person of these was at Tangay, in the south part of Kintyre.

Besides these mentioned, there are divers other small clans, who, though not descended from, yet of a long time have been dependants upon the MacDonalds; as the MacKinnings of the isle of Sky, whose chief is the laird of MacKinney, a gentleman of a good estate in that isle, and in Mull, and depending on the family of Slate. The MacWalricks, also, who derive their origin from

one Ulrick Kennedy, a son of the family of Dunures, who, for slaughter, fled, divers ages ago, to Lochaber; his progeny, from the proper name of their ancestor, deriving their surname of MacWalricks; the principal person of whom is MacWalrick of Linachan, in Lochaber, who, with his sept, are dependants of the family of Kepoch; as are the MacKenricks, being originally MacNauchtans, dependants on the family of Glencoe. The MacGillmories, and others, are dependants on the family of Glengary; as are the MacIlrevies on the family of Clanronald, with divers others, too numerous here to be mentioned.

The MacDonalds, in their atchievements, or armorial bearings, have four several kinds of bearings; as first, Or, a lion, rampant, azure, armed, and langued gules. Second, a dexter hand coupee, holding a cross crosslet, fitchie sable. Third, Or, a ship, with her sails furled salterwise, sable. Fourth, a salmon naiant, proper, with a chief waved, argent.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SURNAME OF MACDOUGAL,

PARTICULARLY OF LORN.

THE surname of MacDougal, though now somewhat low, yet, in respect of the ancient power, grandeur, and antiquity thereof, deserves in justice to be mentioned next to that of MacDonald; the chiefs, or principal men of that surname, being, for some considerable time, dignified with the title of lords of Lorn, a country of a very large extent, and of old valued a seven hundred merk land. These lords of Lorn, from the beginning of the reign of William the Lyon, till the reign of king Robert I. were of the greatest power of any other of the Highland clans; the family of MacDonald being very much depressed, in those times, by reason of the insurrections made against the government by the two successive Sumerleds, chiefs of that surname. It might be rationally presumed, that the MacDougals of Lorn are originally descended of the family of MacDougal of Galloway,

if not absolutely, at least among the most ancient families of Scotland; the armorial bearing of both these families, which is the most authentic document can be adduced in this case, differing very little in any material circumstance. Nevertheless, the MacDougals of Lorn, for any thing I can find, refuse their descent to be from those of Galloway, making it from one of these Colls already mentioned in the genealogy of the MacDonalds, at least from the Milesian race of the ancient kings of Ireland, in common with some others of the most ancient Highland clans.

The first to be met with, on record, of these lords of Lorn, is Duncan, who, in the latter part of the reign of king William, founded the priory of Ardchattan in Lorn, who had two sons, Alexander his successor, and Duncan. Alexander married a daughter of John Cummine, lord of Badenoch, chief of that potent and numerous surname. Of this marriage he had John Bacah, or halting, his successor. This John, lord of Lorn, upon king Robert I.'s killing John Cummine, lord of Badenoch, Lorn's cousin, at Dumfries, became, upon that account, an inveterate enemy to that king and his interest, and, as such, used his utmost efforts in molesting Sir Neil Campbell of Lochow, the king's brother-in-law, and other loyalists in those parts. For relief of whom the king, with a party of his friends, marched for Argyllshire; but before he could join his friends there, the lord of Lorn, with an army vastly superior to his, encountered him, and his small party, at Strathfillan, upon a plain, called as yet, from

that event, Dalree, or king's plain, and did so far overpower the king's forces, that, after a sharp conflict, he entirely defeated the same. The king himself narrowly escaped being either killed or taken, one of Lorn's soldiers having taken hold of his scarf, worn bend-ways over his shoulder, and though the king knocked the soldier dead with a steel mace, yet he did not let go his hold till the king was obliged to loose the buckle which fastened the scarf, and to leave the same in the soldier's hands; which large silver buckle was of late extant in the hands of the laird of MacDougal, if not as yet, as a memorial or trophy of that victory. The king was again assaulted by three robust fellows of Lorn's men, called MacAnorsoirs, who encountering him in a strait pass, one of them seized his bridle, and another his leg, and and the third jumped on behind him; nevertheless, such was the unparalleled valour and presence of mind of that heroic prince, that in the end he despatched those three ruffians, and escaped, but was necessitated to quit his horse, coming on foot for two miles of very bad way, to the upper end of Lochlomond, and for twelve miles more through woods and precipices all along the north side of that loch, having lodged, the night the battle was fought, in a cave in Craigrostane, in the parish of Buchanan, called as yet the king's cave, and, as is reported by tradition, having come next day to Maurice, laird of Buchanan, he conducted him to Malcolm, earl of Lennox, by whom he was preserved for some time, till he got to a place of safety.

This John, lord of Lorn, as soon as king Robert had obtained possession of his kingdom, had his estate forfaulted, and given to Stewart of Innermeth and Dining, a descendant of the family of Darnly, who (as many of our historians say,) married a daughter of the lord of Lorn; which if he did, it was upon the same account that Levingston, of that ilk, married a daughter of Patrick, lord of Callandar, forfaulted at the same time, both being done for the better securing of their rights to those estates, against the pretensions of the nearest of both those surnames to the same. This lordship continued with the Stewarts for four descents, till in the reign of king James III. the same was conveyed, by marriage of the three coheiresses of John, last lord Lorn, to the earl of Argyll, and the Campbells of Glenorchy and Ottar.

There are none now remaining of the male issue of Stewart, lord Lorn, at least in those parts, except Stewart of Appin, whose ancestor was Dougal, son to Stewart, second lord Lorn, of which estate he got that of Appin, retained as yet by his representative, who, with those of his family, always associates with the other clans. Next to Appin is Stewart of Ardsheal, who, with a good number of gentlemen, and others of that family, reside in those parts.

The dependants on the surname of MacDougal, are the MacOleas, MacAheirs, and others. The principal residence of John, present laird of MacDougal, is the castle of Dunolich, in Mid Lorn, being one of the ancient mansions of that family.

The person of best account, next to the laird of MacDougal, is MacDougal of Gallanach, there being divers other gentlemen of that name residing in those parts.

The armorial bearing of MacDougal of Lorn is, quarterly, first and fourth, in a field azure. a lion rampant, argent, for MacDougal. Second and third, Or, a lymphad sable, with flame of fire issuing out of the topmast, proper, for Lorn.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SURNAME OF MACNEIL.

THIS surname of MacNeil being one of the most ancient of our Scottish clans, is originally descended from that once potent and flourishing surname of the O'Neils of Ireland. These O'Neils were divided into two great tribes, the one termed the northern, and the other the southern O'Neils. The first of these, for a great many ages, until the English conquest, were provincial kings of North Ulster. After the English conquest, the title of king being abrogated throughout that kingdom, the successors of the kings of Ulster were designed earls of Tyrone, till, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, Shaan O'Neil, earl of Tyrone, with others of his countrymen, made an insurrection against that queen. But her better fortune prevailing, this family, in a short time thereafter, became extinct, the lineal representative of it being now John O'Neil, Esquire, of Shaan castle, in the county of Antrim, a gentleman of the Protestant religion, and of one of the most considerable

fortunes in that kingdom. He is manager to the earl of Antrim's affairs, the earl himself being minor, who is a nobleman of the greatest estate of any of Scottish descent, in that kingdom, whose ancestor was John, second son to John, lord of the Isles, by the lady Margaret Stewart, daughter to king Robert, the second of that name, and first of the Stewarts. This John's lineal successor was Sorely Buey, or fair Sumerled MacDonald of Glins, who went to Ireland, as some say, in the reign of king Henry VII. of England, or, as others, more probably, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, where he so far signalized himself in the queen's service against Tyrone, and others in arms against her, that, at the end of those wars, the queen, in recompense of his services, gave him that estate, of which his representative is yet in possession.

Ketine, and other Irish historians, derive the origin of the O'Neils from Neil, son to Milesius, king of Gallicia, in Spain, who, with Hiber, Erimon, and Ir, his three brethren, came with the first Gathelians, or Scots, who, by conquest of Ecta, Ketur, and Tectius, kings of the Dedannins, the ancient inhabitants of that kingdom, obtained the sovereign possession of the same. The MacNeils of Scotland, a branch of those of Ireland, are reported to have come here with the first Scots, who, from Ireland, planted Argyllshire, and the Western Isles, being, for some ages bypast, divided into two considerable families, these of Barra, and Taynish, who, of a long time, have contended for chiefship, or precedency; but the matter is generally determined in favour of MacNeil of

Barra, who, of all other Highland chiefs of clans, retains most of the magnificence and customs of the ancient Phylarchæ. He is in possession of the isle of Barra, which is of a pretty large extent, also of some small isles round it. Mr. Martin, composer of the Western Isles, asserts, that MacNeil of Barra can produce evidents, for thirty-six descents, of his family's possession of that isle, besides a great many old charters, most of which are not legible. However this be, he is accounted one of the most ancient chieftains of the Highland clans. His principal residence is the castle of Keismul, situated in a small island of the same name, divided by a small canal from Barra, and of no more extent than what the castle, and a large quadrangular area, or closs, round it, occupieth. MacNeil of Taynish, the next principal person of this surname, resides in Knapdale, in Argyllshire, in which are also MacNeil of Galiachiol and Tarbart. There is also another gentleman of that name, laird of the isle of Collinsay, once the property of the MacAphies. There are a good many more gentlemen, of the surname, in the Western Isles, and the continents of Kintyre and Knapdale.

The armorial bearing of Barra is, quarterly, first, azure, or, as others, gules, a lion rampant, argent. Second, Or, a hand coupee, fess-ways, gules, holding a cross croslet, fitchee, in pale, azure. Third, Or, a lymphad sable. Fourth, parted per foss, argent, and vert, to represent the sea, out of which issueth a rock, gules. Supporters, two large fishes.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE SURNAME

OF

MACLEAN OR MACGILLEAN.

THIS brave and heroic surname is originally descended from that of Fitzgirald, in Ireland, being once the most potent surname of any other, of English extract, in that kingdom. Speed, and other English historians, derive the genealogy of the Fitzgiralds from Seignior Giraldo, a principal officer under William the Conqueror, at his conquest of England, *anno* 1066. This Giraldo got from the conqueror the lordship of Windsor, from which he was afterwards designed of Windsor, as were his posterity, from his proper name Fitzgiralds, or Giraldsons. Maurice Fitzgirald, grandchild to this first Girald, by orders of Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, with four hundred and ninety men, in the year 1169, went, in aid of Dermud MacMurcho, provincial king of Leinster, to Ireland, being the first Englishman, who, in a hostile manner, invaded that kingdom, whatever Atwood,

and other obscure English writers, assert to the contrary: the ground of Fitzgirald's invasion being briefly as follows:

In the reign of Roderick Oconer, last principal king of Ireland, the said Dermud took away, by force, Orork, provincial king of Meath's lady, or queen, which injury while Orork endeavoured to resent, he and his party were defeated by the Leinstrians; in which exigence having recourse to the principal king, he was so effectually assisted by him, as obliged MacMurcho, after some defeats, to abandon Ireland, and betake himself to the court of king Henry II. of England, to whom, relating his misfortune, he implored his aid for recovering his principality, which, upon being done, he offered to resign in his favour. King Henry being a prince who measured the justice of most causes, if in any way beneficial to him, by the length of his sword, would willingly have complied with MacMurcho's request, had he not been engaged in a war with France. However, he issued out proclamations authorizing any of his subjects, that pleased to adventure in behalf of that justly distressed prince, promising to maintain them in possession of what they could acquire in that kingdom; upon which Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, a nobleman, no less powerful than popular, in Wales, condescended to go to Ireland with Dermud, upon condition that, upon recovery of Leinster, he should give him the same, and his only daughter in marriage, which being readily agreed to, Pembroke sent first over Maurice Fitzgirald, as already mentioned, and went afterwards

himself, with greater forces; and, having defeated the Irish in a conflict, recovered Leinster, and married MacMurcho's daughter. King Henry hearing of his subjects' success, patched up a peace with France, and, in the year 1170, or, as others, 1171, went over into that kingdom, with an army of twenty thousand men, and, by the assistance of the treacherous Leinstrians, obtained a victory over Oconor, the principal king, who in a short time thereafter died. After his death the king of England settled his conquest of that kingdom, as the same has continued ever since, notwithstanding of the many efforts, at divers junctures, used by the native Irish for shaking off that yoke.

The family of Strongbow, in a little time, became extinct, to which, in grandeur, succeeded that of Fitzgirald, being divided into two powerful families, the earls of Desmond and Kildare, concerning each of which two I shall relate a certain remarkable passage, ere I proceed to my designed subject. The first is in relation to that of Desmond, of which family were seven brethren, in the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, or rather queen Mary, of England, who, being accused of some practices against the government, were, by the queen's orders, carried into England, and relying either on their innocence, or the interposition of powerful friends, appeared very cheerful for some hours after they went on board, till at length enquiring at the captain the name of the ship, they were told it was named the Cow; upon hearing of which they all fell a-weeping; the rea-

son of which sudden change being demanded by the captain, he was told there was an old prophecy among the Irish, that seven brethren, the most noble of the kingdom, should be at once carried to England, in the belly of a cow, none of which should ever return, and now, though the thing appeared to be very ridiculous, they were afraid that it would be accomplished; as accordingly it was, none of them having ever returned, some of them banished, others executed, and their estate forefaulted, so that, in a short time, that flourishing family was ruined. The other, relating to Kildare, is, that in the reign of king Henry VII. of England, that earl was very ungovernable, against whom frequent complaints were made to the king, concluding with this, that all Ireland could not govern the earl of Kildare. Then, said the king, shall that earl govern all Ireland. Upon which he sent him a commission for being lieutenant of that kingdom, which unexpected favour had such effect upon him, that he continued afterwards a very dutiful and loyal subject to that king.

There are divers other good families of this kingdom descended of those two honourable families, as the MacKenzies, of Colin Fitzgirald, son to the second earl of Desmond, who, for his service at the battle of Largs, against the Danes, *anno* 1264, obtained from king Alexander III. the lands of Kintail, from whose son, Kenneth, the MacKenzies are denominated, by contraction instead of Kennethsons. The Adairs, and divers others, are also descended of the Fitzgiralds; as are the MacLeans, so termed contractedly, but

more properly MacGilleans, Fitzgirald, brother, as some say, to Colin, ancestor of the MacKenzies. But others, with more probability, assert this Gillean to have been a son of the earl of Kildare, and, either at, or in a little time after his cousin's coming, to have come to Scotland, where, falling into great favour with MacDonald, lord of the Isles, he obtained from him the lands of Aros, afterwards, in a small time, the whole isles of Mull, Tyree, Coll, and others, being a very large estate. While the family of MacDonald continued in grandeur, MacLean was always his lieutenant in martial expeditions, as in the battle of Harlaw, in which MacLean, and Irwin of Drum, upon account of some ancient quarrel betwixt their families, and having no knowledge of one another till they had got it from their armorial bearings, or coats of arms, painted, as was usual in those times, upon their shields, engaged hand to hand, and died both upon the spot.

MacLean, with his name and dependants, was at the battles of Flowdon and Pinky; as was Hector MacLean, and his regiment, consisting of six hundred men, at the conflict of Innerkeithing, in the reign of king Charles II. in which he, and his regiment, after a valiant resistance, were killed by the English, few or none escaping. This surname has been known, for some ages bygone, in bravery and loyalty, to be inferior to no other of this kingdom. The laird of MacLean's estate was evicted for debt, by the present duke of Argyll's grandfather, and is now in the duke's hands. Hector, the present laird, is abroad. The princi-

pal residence of the lairds of Maclean is the strong castle of Dowart, situated upon the north shore of the isle of Mull. There was another impregnable fort belonging to this family, at a little distance from Mull, called Kerniburg.

The next to the laird of MacLean, is MacLean of Brolois. The person of best estate now, of that name, is MacLean of Lochbuy, who hath a good castle and estate in Mull. There is MacLean of Coll, being a considerable island at some leagues distant from Mull. There is also, upon the opposite continent to Mull, a gentleman of good account, designed MacLean of Ardgower. He is designed ordinarily MacMhicewin, or the son of Hughson, his ancestor, a son of the laird of MacLean, being properly named Hugh. There are also a great number of other gentlemen of that name in those parts. There is a gentleman, termed MacGuire, of Uluva, being a pretty large isle to the south-west of Mull, of which this gentleman is proprietor, and was a dependant upon the family of MacLean while in a flourishing condition, but since the decline of that family, continues peaceable in his own island, not much concerned with any affairs that occur in any other part of this kingdom. There is in Athole, and other northern places, a sept termed the MacOlays, some of which are in Stirlingshire, termed MacLays, descended also of the family of MacLean.

Divided by a small arm of the sea from the west point of Mull, is the isle Jona, or I-colm-kill, famous for the ancient monastery and church situated therein, and no less so upon account of the

burial-place of forty-eight of our Scottish kings, with divers of the kings of Ireland and Norway, as also of most of the principal families of our Highland clans. The ruins of these once stately edifices and monuments evince their beauty when in repair. There are two singular kinds of stones to be found there, of which are a great many tombs and crosses, and which composes the very mould round that church, and of which consists a great deal of the more ornamental parts of all these structures; the one of them being of a crimson-red colour, the other white, the nature of which cannot be easily discovered. These stones, in outward appearance, resemble marble, but are much harder, and not so brittle, and are somewhat porous, and fully as light as any ivory or ebony. There is none of that kind of stone to be found in any other part of Britain or Ireland, but only in that island, and in another little ruinous church, dedicated to St. Colm, close by the Mule of Kintyre, called Kilchollumkill.

The laird of MacLean, for armorial bearing, hath four coats, quarterly. First, argent a rock gules. Second, argent a dexter hand fess-ways, couped gules, holding a cross crosslet fitchee, in pale azure. Third, Or, a lymphad, sable. Fourth, argent, a salmon naiant proper, in chief, two eagles heads erased a fronte, gules. Crest, a tower embattled, argent. Motto, *Virtue mine Honour*. Supporters on a compartment. Vert, two selchs proper.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SURNAME OF MACLEOD.

THE origin of the surname of MacLeod, is evidently found, and by that name always acknowledged, to be Danish, one of the ancestors of the same in king William's reign, being the king of Denmark or Norway's vicegerent over the isles, belonging to that king, along the coasts of Scotland, from whose proper name of Leodius, that surname derived the denomination of MacLeods. From two sons of Leodius, called Torquil, and Norman, that surname was divided for a considerable time into two principle families of Siol Torquil, and Siol Tormaild, or the progeny of Torquil, and Norman. The first of these was proprietor of Lewis, and the second of Harrise, from which two estates these families were designed. Which families, at the expulsion of the rest of their countrymen by king Alexander III. were in such favour with the king, and some of his principal nobility, that they were allowed to continue in pos-

session of their large estates, and also obtained the benefit of being naturalized. After which they continued for divers ages in a flourishing condition, till in the reign of king James VI. that MacLeod of Lewis had the misfortune of falling into some disloyal practices, for which he was forfeited. King James having a design of civilizing and improving that large and fertile island, thought that a fit opportunity of falling on that project, and in order thereto, gave a grant of the Lewis to certain gentlemen of the shire of Fife, for payment of a small sum of feu-duty, and some other casualties. MacLeod of Lewis dying, these gentlemen thought to get their design with all facility accomplished, but were very far disappointed; for notwithstanding that they built pretty good houses near one another, in the form of a village, for their mutual defence, yet Murdo MacLeod, bastard son to MacLeod of Lewis, with some of his father's tenants and dependants, assaulted the Fife lairds in their village, and having fired their houses, obliged them all to become his prisoners, and for preservation of their lives, to swear, that with the utmost diligence they would abandon the island, and never return, which was punctually performed. The king finding this method would not do, gave in a short time thereafter a grant of the Lewis to the earl of Seaforth, who, with his clan, residing upon the opposite continent, obtained possession thereof, and the more easily, in regard the said Murdo MacLeod died about that time; after which, for security of his possession, Seaforth, or, as others say, one of his sons, married a daughter of the last

MacLeod of Lewis, and retained possession of that estate in all time thereafter without disturbance. Since the extinction of the family of Lewis, the principal person, and chief of that surname, is MacLeod of Harrise, being a gentleman of the greatest estate of any of our Highland clans; his principal residence is the strong castle of Dunvegan in Sky, in which isle the most part of his numerous clan reside, of whom are a great number of gentlemen of good account.

The person of that name (for any thing I can find) next to MacLeod's family, is MacLeod of Tallisker. Those of other denominations, descended of that surname, are the MacGillechollums, the chief of which is MacGillechollum of Raarsa, a considerable island near Sky. He hath a pretty numerous clan, not only in those parts, but also in the shires of Perth, and Argyll, though some in the last of these shires term themselves MacCallums, pretending to be Campbells; but it is generally thought these are led so to do, more by interest than by justice, there being no satisfying reason given by them of their being a different stem from those others of that name, who own themselves to be MacLeods. The second sept descended of the MacLeods, is the MacCriomans, whereof there are divers in the above-mentioned two shires. The third sept is that of the MacLewis, some of which are in the shire of Stirling.

MacLeod carries for arms, azure, a castle triple towered, and embattled, argent, masoned sable, and illuminated gules.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

MacIntoshes and MacPhersons.

THE surname of MacIntosh, as a genealogical account thereof in my hands, and all other accounts of the same, assert, is descended of that ancient and heroic family of MacDuff, thane and afterwards earl of Fife. The ancestor of that name, according to the above account, was Sheagh, or Shaw MacDuff, second son to Constantine, third earl of Fife, and great-grandchild to Duncan MacDuff, last thane, and first earl of Fife of that name. This Shaw MacDuff went with king Malcolm IV. as one of his captains in that expedition he made against the rebellious Murrays, and other inhabitants of Murray land, in the year 1163. After the suppression of that rebellion, Shaw MacDuff, in reward of his eminent service upon that occasion, obtained from the king the constableship or government of the castle of Inverness, with considerable interest in land in Peaty, Breachly, and other ad-

jacent places to that castle, with the forestry of the forest of Straithherin, all which family belonged to some of the rebels. The country people of those parts, upon notice of Shaw's descent, gave him the name of MacIntoshich, or thane's son, the old title of thane, by which his ancestors were so long designed, obtaining more among the vulgar than the new one of earl so lately brought into use. So that he continued not only himself to be so denominated always thereafter, but transmitted the same as a surname to his posterity, which is yet retained; though, as it would seem, there was one of his sons, who, instead of MacIntosh, choosed rather to derive his surname from this Shaw's proper name, being ancestor of the Shaws of Rothemurchas in Badenoch, one of whose sons, called Ferquhard Shaw, having settled in Mar, was ancestor of the Ferquhardsons there, the principal person of which is Ferquhardson of Innercauld, a gentleman of a good estate. There are also Ferquhardsons of Inverray, and a good many more gentlemen of that surname in those parts. These are termed in Irish, MacKinlays, from Finlay Moir, one of their ancestors, who bore the royal standard at the battle of Flowdon, or Pinky, in which he was killed. There are divers gentlemen, and others of the vulgar sort, in the northern parts, who retain the surname of Shaw; so that it is pretty clear our southern Shaws, of which Shaw of Greenock is chief, are of the same stem.

Angus, the fifth in descent from Shaw MacDuff, married the only daughter and heiress of Gilpatrick, son of Dougal Dall, or Dougal the

blind, son of Gilcattan, in the year 1291. This Gilpatrick was chief of the tribe of clan Chattan, whose estate and chiefship by this marriage was conveyed to the family of MacIntosh, whence he was for a long time designed captain of clan Chattan. The principal person of that name, next to the laird of MacIntosh, is brigadier MacIntosh of Borlum. There are also MacIntoshes of Aberardor, Stron, Connidge, and a great many others of good account of that numerous surname. MacIntosh of Monnywaird, by this account, is reckoned the first cadet of the family of MacIntosh, descended of Edward, son to the second laird of MacIntosh, about the year 1200; but Monnywaird refuses this, and differs, both in his surname, and armorial bearing, from the other MacIntoshes, always designing himself Toshach, and asserting that his ancestor was a son of the earl of Fife.

The clan Chattan derive their origin from the Chatti, a German tribe, which is said to come here long before the expulsion of the Picts, there being no other ground for this allegation, than the affinity of the denomination of this surname to that tribe. But the account of the family of MacIntosh, with more probability, derives the origin of that name, MacCattan, or GilChattan, from Ireland, and so to be accounted an ancient Scottish name, that of Cathan being an ancient Scottish proper name; as, for instance, St. Cathan, one of our primitive Scottish christians, or saints, to whom was dedicated the priory of Ardchattan in Lorn, and some others in this kingdom, and from the proper name of this saint was named Gillecat-

tan, as Gillecollum and Gillepadrick were from the proper names of St. Colm, and St. Patrick, with a great many more of that kind.

The principal person, or chief, of the clan Chattan, in the reign of king David I. dying without male issue, his brother Murdo, in Irish termed Muriach, parson of the church of Kingusie in Badenoch, was assumed by the clan for captain, or chief, who had two sons; Gillecattan his successor, and Ewan Baan, or Hugh the fair, his second son, who had three sons; Kenneth, ancestor of the MacPhersons of Cluny, John, ancestor of Pitmean, and Gilchrist, ancestor of Inveressy. Some of this Ewan Baan's posterity assumed the surname of MacMurrich's, or Murdosons, from their ancestor's proper name; others of them MacPhersons, from his function; but both acknowledge one chief, being MacPherson of Cluny, whose estate and residence, as also that of his clan, is in Badenoch. The principal person of that clan, next to Cluny, is MacPherson of Nuid. There are also MacPhersons of Inveressy, Pitmean, with a good many other gentlemen of both the abovementioned septs in Badenoch, and the adjacent places, being accounted so many of the best men of the clans. The principal residence of the laird of MacIntosh is in an isle of a loch upon the border of Lochaber, called Lochmoy, and thence the isle of Moy. He hath another castle called Delganross, upon the north side of the river of Spey, in the head of Murray, or shire of Inverness.

The laird of MacIntosh carries quarterly, Or, a lion rampant, gules, as cadet of MacDuff. Second, argent, a dexter hand couped fess-ways, grasping a man's heart, pale-ways, gules. Third, azure, a bear's head, couped, Or. Fourth, Or, a lymphad, her oars erected in saltyre, sable, upon account of the marriage with the heiress of clan Chattan. Crest, a cat saliant proper. Supporters, two cats, as the former. Motto, *Touch not the Cat but a Glove.*

MacPherson of Cluny carries parted per fess, Or, and azure, a lymphad, or galley, her sails furled, her oars in action of the first: in the dexter chief point a hand coupee, grasping a dagger pointing upward, gules, for killing Cummine lord Badenoch: in the sinister point, a cross crosslet, fitchee, gules. Motto and crest, the same with those of MacIntosh.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

ROBERTSONS, OR CLAN DONNOCHIE.

THE surname of ROBERTSON is descended of one Duncan Crosda, or crossgrained, a son of MacDonald, lord of the isles, about the reign of king William the Lyon; but I did not enumerate this surname among the descendants of other denominations of that family, in regard that of Robertson hath for divers ages been reputed a distinct surname, and had no dependance upon that of MacDonald. So that although this above account be the most generally received in relation to the descent of that surname, I am not positive how far it is acquiesced in by those of the same. However, this surname of Robertson hath been of good repute for some ages bygone; those of that surname are in Irish termed Clan Donnochie, or Duncansons, so denominated from the proper name of their ancestor; but in English termed Robert-

sons, from one Robert, chief of that name, who signalized himself very much in the reign of king James I. and apprehended Robert Graham, one of that king's murderers.

The surname Skene are said to be descended of the family of Strowan, and obtained the name of Skene for killing a very big and fierce wolf, at a hunting, in company with the king, in Stocket forest in Athole; having killed the wolf with a dagger, or skene, as the arms and motto of that surname clearly evince. Also the Colliers are of this surname, one of the same being closely pursued for slaughter, did hide himself in a coal-pit, and so escaped. Of this are Collier, earl of Portmore, and divers others of good account in Holland. Robertson of Strowan is chief of that name. His residence is with most of his clan in Athole, at Strowan castle.

His arms are, three wolf heads erased, gules, with a monstrous man in chains, for compartment upon account of one of his ancestors seizing the above-mentioned Robert Graham.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SURNAME OF MACFARLANE.

THE laird of MACFARLANE (whose ancestor, Gilchrist, son to Aluin, and brother to Malduin, both earls of Lennox, obtained the lands of Arrochar about the year 1200, in the reign of king William,) being now reputed heir-male of that great and ancient family, it will not be amiss, before I proceed to give an account of his family, to premise something concerning the antiquity and origin of the old earls of Lennox, from whom he has the honour to be descended.

Peter Walsh, in his Animadversions on the History of Ireland, derives their descent from Mainus, son of Corus, provincial king of Leinster, who is said to have come to Scotland, in the reign of king Fincormachus, and to have married Mungenia, that king's daughter. This Mainus being surnamed Lemna, the estate he obtained from the said king was called Lemnich, or Lennox, which in after ages became a surname to his posterity:

but this account seems too fabulous to deserve any credit.

Our own antiquaries, with far greater probability, which is also confirmed by a constant and inviolable tradition, derive the origin of this ancient family from Aluin, or Alcuin, a younger son of Kenneth III. king of Scotland, who died in the year 994. From this Aluin descended, in a direct male line, Arkil, who was contemporary with king Edgar, and king Alexander I. and seems to have been a person of considerable note in both these reigns.

His son, Aluin MacArkill, i. e. the son of Arkill, as he is designed in old charters, was a great favourite at court, in the reigns of king David, and Malcolm IV. as is evident from his being so frequently witness to the grants and donations of both these princes to churches and abbacies, particularly to the church of Glasgow, * and the abbacy of Dunfermline. †

His son and successor, called also Aluin, next earl of Lennox, was, according to the devotion of those times, a liberal benefactor to the church, for he mortified the lands of Cochnach, Edinbarnet, Dalmenach, with a great deal of other lands, to the old church of Kilpatrick, in honour of St. Patrick. ‡ Which mortification is on very good grounds supposed to have been made before the foundation of the abbey of Paisley, *anno* 1160.

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* Extract of the Register of Glasgow.—† Chartulary of Dunfermline. See also Sir James Dalrymple's Historical Collections.—‡ Regisier of Dunbarton.

This earl Aluin left issue, (besides others whose posterity is long since extinct,) two sons; Malduin his successor in the earldom, and Gilchrist, ancestor to the laird of MacFarlane. Malduin was succeeded by his son Malcolm, and he again by his son of the same name, who was father to Donald, the last earl of Lennox of that family, whose only daughter, Margaret, was married to Walter Stewart of Faslane, son to Allan of Faslane, second son to Stewart, lord Darnly. The old family of Lennox being thus extinct for want of male issue, and having produced no cadets since Gilchrist came off the same, it is pretty evident that the laird of MacFarlane is latest cadet, and consequently heir-male of that ancient family. Having thus cleared my way, I proceed to the account of the surname of MacFarlane.

Gilchrist, ancestor to the laird of MacFarlane, obtained, by the grant of his brother Malduin, earl of Lennox, *terras de superiori Arrochar de Luss*, very particularly bounded in the original charter, which is afterwards confirmed in the records of the privy seal. * Which lands of Arrochar, so bounded, have continued ever since with his posterity, in a direct male line, to this day. This Gilchrist is witness in a great many charters, granted by his brother Malduin, the earl of Lennox, to his vassals, particularly to one granted, by the said earl of Lennox, to Anselan, laird of Buchanan, of the isle of Clareinch in Lochlomond, dated in the year 1225. As also to another, granted, by

* Charta in Rotulis Privati Sigilli.

the said earl of Lennox, to William, son of Arthur Galbreath, of the two Carrucates of Badernock, dated at Fintry, *anno* 1238. In both which charters he is designed "Gilchrist Frater Comitis."

He left issue, a son, Duncan, designed in old charters "Duncan Filius Gilchrist, or MacGilchrist," who had a charter from Malcolm, earl of Lennox, whereby the said earl ratifies and confirms *Donationem illam quam* Malduinus, *Avus meus Comes de* Lennox, *fecit* Gilchrist *Fratri suo, de terris de superiori* Arrochar *de* Luss. This Duncan is witness in a charter, by Malcolm, earl of Lennox, to Michael MacKessan, of the lands of Garchel and Ballet. He married his own cousin, Matilda, daughter to the earl of Lennox, by whom he had Maldonich, or Malduin, his successor, concerning whom there is little upon record.

Malduin's son and successor was Partholan, or Parlan, from whose proper name the family obtained the patronimical surname of MacPharlane, or Parlansons, being, as is asserted, for three descents before the assumption of this, surnamed MacGilchrists, from Gilchrist already mentioned. Some of these last have retained that surname as yet, who nevertheless own themselves to be cadets of the family of MacFarlane.

Parlan was succeeded by his son Malcolm MacPharlane, who got a charter from Donald, earl of Lennox, upon the resignation of his father Parlan, son to Malduin, * wherein he is confirmed, by the said earl, in the lands of Arrochar, formerly called

* Register of Dunbartoun,

the Carrucate of MacGilchrist, together with four isles in Lochlomond, called Island-vow, Island-vanow, Island-row-glass, and Clang, for four merks of feu-duty, and service to the king's host. Although this charter, as many other ancient ones, wants a date, yet it is clearly evident, that it was prior to another, granted by the same earl, to the said Malcolm, laird of MacFarlane, whereby the earl discharges him and his heirs of the four merks of feu-duty, payable by the former charter, both for by-gones, and for the time to come. This is dated at Bellach, May 4th, 1354. *

To Malcolm succeeded his son Duncan, sixth laird of MacFarlane, who obtained from Duncan earl of Lennox, a charter of the said lands of Arrochar, in as ample manner as his predecessors held the same, which is dated at Inchmirin, in the year 1395. † This Duncan, laird of MacFarlane, was married to Christian Campbell, daughter to Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, sister to Duncan, first lord Campbell, ancestor to the present duke of Argyll. For clearing of this, there is still extant, in the Register of Dunbartoun, a charter, by Duncan, earl of Lennox, confirming a life-rent charter, granted, by Duncan, laird of MacFarlane, in favour of Christian Campbell, daughter to Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, his wife, of the lands of Clanlochlong, Inverioch, Glenluin, Port-cable, &c. This charter is dated also in the year 1395.

For brevity's sake I omit giving an account of this Duncan's successors for several descents, it

* Register of Dunbartoun.—† Ibid.

being sufficient for my present purpose to take notice that, in the reign of king James IV. Sir John MacFarlane of that ilk, married a daughter of the lord Hamilton, by whom he had two sons; Andrew his successor, and Robert MacFarlane, first of the branch of Inversnait. He married, secondly, a daughter of the lord Herries, by whom he had Walter MacFarlane of Ardliesh, ancestor to the family of Gartartan. To Sir John MacFarlane of that ilk, succeeded Andrew his son, who married lady Margaret Cunninghame, daughter to William, earl of Glencairn, who was lord high treasurer in the reign of king James V. By her he had issue, Duncan his successor.

This Duncan, laird of MacFarlane, was one of the first, of any account, who made open profession of the Christian religion in this kingdom. He joined the earls of Lennox and Glencairn at the fight in Glasgow-moor, *anno* 1544, against the earl of Arran, who was governor in the minority of queen Mary. He was afterwards, together with severals of his name and followers, slain valiantly fighting for his country at the battle of Pinky, September 10th, 1547, leaving, by Anne his wife, daughter to Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, only one son, Andrew.

This Andrew, laird of MacFarlane, inherited not only his father's estate, but also his zeal for the Protestant religion, which he evidently showed on several occasions; particularly when queen Mary, after her escape out of the castle of Lochleven, endeavoured to re-establish Popery, and for that end had got together a great deal of forces:

he, hearing thereof, immediately raised no less than five hundred of his own name and dependants, with whom, joining the earl of Murray, who was then regent, they encountered queen Mary's forces at the village of Langside, May 10th, 1568, where the laird of MacFarlane and his name behaved so valiantly, first galling and then putting to flight queen Mary's archers, that they were acknowledged by all to be the chief occasion of obtaining that glorious victory. * In consideration of which signal piece of service, in defending the crown, he got, among other rewards, that honourable crest and motto, which is still enjoyed by his posterity, viz.: a demi-savage proper, holding in his dexter hand a sheaf of arrows, and pointing with his sinister to an imperial crown, Or. Motto, *This I'll Defend.* He married Agnes Maxwell daughter to Sir Patrick Maxwell of Newark, by whom he had three sons; John his successor, George MacFarlane of Mains, who got a disposition from his father to the Mains of Kilmaronock, but died without issue, and Humphrey MacFarlane of Bracheurn.

John, next laird of MacFarlane, married, first, Susanna Buchanan, daughter to Sir George Buchanan of that ilk, her mother being Mary Graham, daughter to the earl of Monteith, by whom he had no issue. He married, secondly, Helen, daughter to Francis Steuart, earl of Bothwell, by Margaret Douglas his wife, daughter to the earl of Angus, by whom he had Walter his successor. Thirdly,

* Petrie's Church History. Godscroft's History of the Douglasses.

he married Elizabeth, daughter to the earl of Argyll, by whom he had Andrew MacFarlane of Drumfad, John, predecessor to George MacFarlane of Glenralach, and George, ancestor to Macfarlane of Clachan. Fourthly, he married Margaret, daughter to James Murray of Strowan.

His son and successor Walter married Margaret, daughter to Sir James Semple of Beltrees, by whom he had two sons; John his successor, and Andrew MacFarlane of Ardess. Which John married Grizel, daughter to Sir Coll Lamond of that ilk, by Barbara his wife, daughter to Robert, lord Semple. But having no male issue, he was succeeded by his brother Andrew, next laird of MacFarlane, who marrying Elizabeth, daughter to John Buchanan of Ross, had by her two sons; John his successor, and Walter, a youth of great hopes, who died unmarried. John, late laird of MacFarlane, married, first, Agnes, daughter to Sir Hugh Wallace of Wolmet, by whom he had no surviving issue: he married, secondly, lady Helen Arbuthnot, daughter to Robert, lord viscount of Arbuthnot, by whom he had three sons; the present laird of MacFarlane, William, and Alexander.

The other families of this surname are, first, the family of Clachbuy, severals of which are dispersed through the Western Islands: their ancestor was Thomas, son to Duncan, laird of MacFarlane, in the reign of king Robert III. from whose proper name they are frequently called MacCauses, or Thomas-sons. Secondly, the family of Kenmore, who are pretty numerous; their

ancestor was John, a younger son of Duncan MacFarlane of that ilk, in the reign of king James I. Of this family is Robert MacFarlane of Achinvenalmore in Glenfroon, James MacFarlane of Muckroy, and Walter MacFarlane of Dunnamanich in the north of Ireland. Thirdly, MacFarlane of Tullichintaull, whose predecessor was Dugal, a younger son of Walter MacFarlane of that ilk, in the reign of king James III. Of this family are descended John MacFarlane of Finnart, Malcolm MacFarlane of Gortan, and Mr. Robert MacFarlane, minister of the gospel at Buchanan. Fourthly, MacFarlane of Gartartan, whose family is pretty numerous in the shire of Perth. His ancestor was Walter MacFarlane, eldest son, of a second marriage, to Sir John MacFarlane of that ilk, by his wife, a daughter of the lord Herries, in the reign of king James IV. Of this family is John MacFarlane of Ballagan. Fifthly, MacFarlane of Kirktoun, in the parish of Campsy, and shire of Stirling, whose ancestor was George MacFarlane of Merkinch, younger son to Andrew, laird of MacFarlane, in the reign of king James V. Which George went afterwards and settled in the north, where his posterity continued till they bought the lands of Kirktoun. Sixthly, there is also one Parlane MacFarlane, or MacWalter, of little Auchinvenal, who pretends that his ancestor Walter, was a natural son of one of the earls of Lennox, a long time after MacFarlane came off that family. But this account is controverted by the laird of MacFarlane, who asserts his predecessor to have been a cadet of his fa-

mily, which is also owned by all the surname of MacWalter, Auchinvenal himself only excepted, who also never denied it till of late.

The surname of MacFarlane is very numerous both in the west and north Highlands, particularly in the shires of Dunbartoun, Perth, Stirling, and Argyll; as also in the shires of Inverness, and Murray, and the Western Isles; besides there is a great many of them in the north of Ireland. There is also a vast number of descendants from, and dependants on, this surname and family, of other denominations, of which those of most account are a sept termed Allans, or MacAllans, who are so called from Allan MacFarlane their predecessor, a younger son of one of the lairds of MacFarlane, who went to the north, and settled there several centuries ago. This sept is not only very numerous, but also divers of them of very good account, such as the families of Auchorrachan, Balnengown, Drumminn, &c. They reside mostly in Mar, Strathdon, and other northern countries. There are also the MacNairs, MacEoins, MacErrachers, MacWilliams, MacAindras, MacNiters, MacInstalkers, MacIocks, Parlans, Farlans, Gruamachs, Kinniesons, &c. All which septs own themselves to be MacFarlanes, together with certain particular septs of MacNuyers, MacKinlays, MacRobbs, MacGreusichs, Smiths, Millers, Monachs, &c.

The laird of MacFarlane had a very good old castle in an island of Lochlomond, called Island-row-glas, which was burnt by the English during Cromwell's usurpation, and never since repaired,

He has also another pretty good house and gardens in an island of the same loch, called Islandvow. But his principal residence is at Inverioch, or New Tarbet, which is a handsome house, beautified with pleasant gardens, situated in the parish of Arrochar, and shire of Dunbartoun, near the head of that large loch, or arm of the sea, called Loch-long, where there is excellent fishing for herring, and all other sorts of sea-fish.

The laird of MacFarlane's armorial bearings is Argent, a saltier engrailed, cantoned with four roses gules, which is the arms of the old family of Lennox. Supporters, two Highlandmen in their native garbs, armed with broad swords and bows proper. Crest, a demi-savage, holding a sheaf of arrows in his dexter hand, and pointing with his sinister to an imperial crown, Or. Motto, *This I'll Defend.* And on a compartment, the word *Loch-sloy*, which is the MacFarlane's slughorn, or *Crie de Guerre.*

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SURNAME OF CAMERON.

THE most ordinary account delivered of the origin of the surname of CAMERON is, that in the latter part of the reign of king William, or the beginning of the reign of king Alexander II. a principal person of those Danes, or Norvegians, then in possession of most of our northern Scottish isles, named Cambro, did marry the daughter and heiress of MacMartin, proprietor of that part of Lochaber now possessed by Locheal, chief of that surname of Cameron. And as MacIntosh did not change his surname upon his marrying the heiress of the principal person, or chief, of the MacCattans, but instead thereof many of that surname went into that of MacIntosh; so also in this case the above-mentioned Cambro not only retained his own name, upon his marriage of the heiress of the principal person, or chief, of the MacMartins, a very old clan in that country, but also from his

own proper name transmitted the surname of Cameron to his posterity, which, in a tract of time, becoming the more powerful, the whole remains of the MacMartins went into that surname.

I find it asserted in the genealogical account of the surname of Campbell, that Sir Neil Campbell, who flourished in a part of the reigns of king Alexander III. and king Robert I. for his second lady, married a daughter of Sir John Cameron, Locheal's ancestor. But that account cannot hold, in regard Sir Neil was only married to Mary Bruce, sister to king Robert, who survived him, and was after his death married to Fraser, lord Lovat. But others, with more probability, assert that Sir John Cameron's daughter was second lady to Sir Colin, successor to Sir Neil. This Sir John Cameron, upon very good grounds, may be presumed to have been one and the same with him designed John de Cambron, or of Cameron, who was one of the subscribers of that letter, sent by king Robert I. and his nobles, to the pope, *anno* 1320.

The Camerons, or clan Chameron, seem to have been a name of considerable antiquity before the reign of king James I. in regard of the figure that clan made in that king's reign; for, being in conjunction with Donald Balloch, brother to the lord of the isles, they, with very considerable loss, defeated an army sent against them by the king; but, in a short time thereafter, the desertion of that clan, with the clan Chattan, so broke Balloch's measures, that he was obliged to disband his army, and flee to Ireland.

The Camerons, as most other neighbouring

clans, while the family of MacDonald continued in a flourishing condition, were dependants on the same: but after the extinction of that great family, each of these clans came into an independent state, setting up upon all occasions for themselves, as at this present time. The laird of Locheal, in the latter part of the reign of king James VI. married Campbell of Glenorchy's daughter, aunt to the late earl of Braidalbin. Of this marriage he had Sir Ewan his successor, a very well accomplished gentleman, who performed a great many signal services against the English, in the reigns of king Charles I. and II. having defeated, at one conflict, with very much loss to the enemy, a party of two hundred English, and at another wholly in a manner cut off a party of eighty, there escaping only two centinels. In one of these adventures, a robust fellow of the enemy grappled with Sir Ewan, and tripped up his heels, and while the Englishman was searching for his dagger to stab him, Sir Ewan got hold with his teeth of the Englishman's throat, and in a few minutes deprived him of his life. Upon the Restoration of king Charles II. he bestowed the honour of knighthood upon that gentleman, who always continued faithful to his interest. This Sir Ewan married the laird of MacLean's daughter, by whom he had John his successor. Secondly, he married Barclay of Urie's daughter, by whom he had also issue. John, present laird, is abroad; he married Campbell of Lochnell's daughter, by whom he had Donald his son, and several other children. The nearest to that family is captain Allan Cameron, brother to

Locheal, who is also abroad. Locheal's principal residence is in Auchincarry in Lochaber, where he hath a large house, all built of fir planks, the handsomest of that kind in Britain. There are also the Camerons of Glendeshery, Kinlochlyon, and a good many more gentlemen of considerable estates, and a great many of the vulgar sort of this surname in Morvern and Lochaber.

The dependants on this surname are a sept of the MacLauchlans, the MacGilveils, MacLonveis, MacPhails, and MacChlerichs, or Clerks, who, with the MacPhails, or Pauls, are originally Camerons, with some others. There is also MacMartin of Letterfinlay, in Lochaber, being the principal person of the old sept of the MacMartins, who, with that whole sept, own themselves now to be Camerons. The Camerons also contend that the surname of Chalmers is descended of a cadet of their surname, who, having gone some years ago into the French service, assumed the name of Camerarius, or Chalmers, for that of Cameron, as more agreeable to the language of that country. One of this Chalmers's progeny having continued in France, was ancestor to the lord of Tartas, and others of that name in that kingdom: another of that name having returned to Scotland, was ancestor to the Chalmerses of the shire of Aberdeen, and other parts of this kingdom.

The Camerons of old, as some heralds record, carried for arms, Or, two bars gules. But now, argent, three pallets gules. Or as some, argent, pally barry gules; as I have seen a seal of Locheal's cut.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SURNAME OF MACLAUCHLAN.

THE surname of MacLauchlan hath been of a long time reputed one of our ancient clans, being originally descended of the surname of the O'Lauchlans of Ireland, the principal person of whom, according to Mr. Walsh, and other Irish historians, was, in the second century of the christian epocha, provincial king of the province of Meath, which dignity his successors enjoyed for many descents, till some little time before the English Conquest, the family of Orork, obtained that principality. This surname is asserted to be of the Milesian stem, or that of the ancient kings of Ireland, and the progenitor thereof to have come to Scotland with the first who from Ireland planted Argyllshire. I have heard some of this name affirm, that the laird of MacLauchlan had a charter of his estate from king Congallus II. but cannot assent too far to any such assertion, there be-

ing no evidences of that antiquity as yet found out, at least any mention made of such, in any place or record in this kingdom, though there may be a traditional account, that the above surname was in possession of their estate in that reign, or before the same, which is no way inconsistent with probability.

The laird of MacLauchlan, chief of that surname's estate of Strathlauchlan, and principal residence, being the large and ancient castle of Castlelauchlan, are in the lower part of Upper Cowal, near the north side of Lochfyne, in the shire of Argyll, in which most of his clan reside. The next to that family is Colin MacLauchlan, the present laird of MacLauchlan's uncle. There are also the MacLauchlans of Craigintairrow, Inchchonell, and divers other heritors of that surname in the said shire; as also MacLauchlan of Auchintroig, in the shire of Stirling, in favour of Celestin Maclauchlan, one of whose ancestors, Duncan, earl of Lennox, confirms a charter, granted by Eugen MacKessan of Garchels, to one of the said Celestin's ancestors, which confirmation is dated in the year 1394, and eighth year of the reign of king Robert III. There is another numerous sept of the MacLauchlans residing in Morvern and Lochaber, the principal person of these being MacLauchlan of Corryuanan in Lochaber. Of this family is MacLauchlan of Drumlane in Monteith, with others of that surname there. Those of this sept residing in Lochaber, depend upon the laird of Locheal, as already mentioned.

MacLauchlan for Arms hath four coats quarterly. First, Or, or as some, argent, a lion rampant gules. Second, argent, a hand coupee fessways, holding a cross crosslet fitchee, gules. Third, Or, a galley, her oars in saltyre, sable, placed in a sea, proper. Fourth, argent, in a base undee, vert, a salmon naiant, proper. Supporters, two roe-bucks proper. Motto, *Fortes et Fidus.*

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SURNAME OF MACNAUCHTAN.

THE surname of MacNauchtan, though now low, hath been a surname of very great antiquity, and for a long tract of time of much esteem, and possessed of a very considerable estate in Argyllshire. This surname was so denominated from the proper name of Nauchtan, being that of one of the progenitors of the same, and an ancient Scottish proper name. The ancestors or chiefs of this surname are reported to be for some ages designed thanes of Lochtay, and also to be possessed of a great estate betwixt the south side of Lochfyne and Lochow, parts of which are Glenera, Glenshira, Glenfine, and others.

The first of this name, mentioned in our public histories, was Duncan, laird of MacNauchtan, an assistant of MacDugal, lord of Lorn, against king Robert Bruce, at the battle of Dalree, for which he lost a part of his estate; but afterwards

he, or rather his son, was a loyal subject to that king, and to king David II. his successor. The present laird of MacNauchtan's father, Sir Alexander MacNauchtan, was one of the bravest and best accomplished gentlemen of his age, and a very close adherent to the interest of king Charles I. and II. in all their difficulties; so that, in recompence of that gentleman's loyalty and signal service, king Charles II. at his restoration, not only bestowed the honour of knighthood upon him, but also a liberal pension during life, the latter part of which having spent at court, he died at London.

There is a very considerable gentleman of this name in the county of Antrim in Ireland, whose ancestor was a son of the family of MacNauchtan. He hath a good estate called Benbardin, and a pretty castle in which he resides, there being also divers of his name residing in his estate, and other parts of that country. Those of other denominations descended of this surname, are the MacKenricks, descended of one Henry MacNauchtan; a sept of the MacNuyers, especially those of Glenfine; the MacNeits, MacEols, and others. It is a clear demonstration of the antiquity of a surname, that many branches, especially of other denominations, are descended off the same; it being evident, that in order of nature such things are not suddenly brought to any bearing, but gradually, and in a considerable progress of time.

The present laird of MacNauchtan is in possession of no part of his estate, the same being evicted some years ago by creditors, for sums no way ·uivalent to the value thereof, and there being

no diligence used for relief thereof, it went out of the hands of the family. MacNauchtan's eldest son, being a very fine gentleman, was a captain in the Scottish foot-guards, and was sometime ago killed in Spain; his only surviving son, John, being a customhouse officer upon the eastern coast. MacNauchtan's estate, called MacNauchtan's-Letter, being a pretty good estate, lyes upon the west side of Lochfyne, within a little way of that loch, in the shire of Argyll. His principal residence is the castle of Dundaraw, situated upon a little rocky point, upon the west shore of Lochfyne, contiguous to his own estate.

The armorial bearing of the laird of MacNauchtan is, quarterly. First and fourth argent, a hand fess-ways coupee, proper, holding a cross crosslet fitchee, azure, Second and third argent, a tower embattled, gules, and a demy tower for crest. Motto, *I hope in God.*

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SURNAME OF MACGREGOR.

THE surname of MacGregor, once a numerous name, and in possession of divers considerable estates, hath of a long tract of time been accounted one of the ancient Scottish surnames, or clans, being denominated from the proper name of Gregor, ancestor of that surname, being a known ancient proper Scottish name. Those of this surname assert their progenitor to have been a son of one of the Scottish kings of the Alpinian race, more especially of king Gregory; but our historians are generally agreed that king Gregory never married, and was not known to have any issue, either legitimate or illegitimate. However that be, that this surname is descended from one properly so called, a son, or some other descendant of another of the kings of Alpinian race, is no way inconsistent with probability. But that surname having lost their estates at different junctures, and by various contingences,

is a mean of the loss also of any evidents relating to the manner and time of acquiring those estates, and that were any way conducive for evincing the descent of the family: the best document now extant, in their custody, being their armorial bearing, which insinuates pretty clearly, that the said name was either descended of some of the stem of the Scottish kings, or that they had done some piece of signal service for some one of the kings, and kingdom, though the circumstances of either of these cannot at this distance be fully cleared. I find, in the genealogical account of the surname of Campbell, that Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, who had divers great offices from king Malcolm II. had a daughter married to MacGregor, laird of Glenurchy, and that of this marriage was Sir John MacGregor of Glenurchy, a person of very good account in the reign of king Malcolm III. The chief of that name is very well known to have been for many generations lairds of Glenurchy, and to have built the castle of Balloch, or Taymouth, at least to have had their residence there, and also to have built castle Caolcbuirn, in the west part of that country. How this estate was lost is not very evident; but it is probable, that the name of MacGregor, being so near neighbours, might be induced or obliged to join MacDugal, lord of Lorn, against king Robert I. and upon that account lost a good part of their estate; as the MacNauchtans and MacNabs lost a part of theirs for the same cause. However, the first of the name of Campbell who got that estate of Glenurchy, was black Sir Colin Campbell, second son to Sir Colin Camp-

bell of Lochow, in the latter part of the reign of king James II. or in the beginning of the reign of king James III. being ancestor of the present earl of Braidalbin. Besides the chief family of Glenurchy, there was also MacGregor of Glenlyon, who, having no issue, nor near relation, disponed his estate to a second son of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, being ancestor of Campbell of Glenurchy, in the beginning of the reign of king James VI. There was also MacGregor of Glensre, who was forfeited in the same reign, the laird of MacGregor having also near the same time sold the last lands that family had in those parts, called Stronmiolchon; so that since that time, viz. the latter part of the reign of king James VI. the lairds of MacGregor had no estate, till the principal branch of that family became extinct in the reign of king Charles II. the chiefship devolving upon Malcolm MacGregor, descended of a collateral branch of the chief family, whose son, Gregor MacGregor, in the reign of king William, dying without issue, was succeeded by Archibald MacGregor of Kilmanan, whose male issue being all dead, and those few who pretend nearest relation to him being of mean repute and circumstances, made (as is reported) a formal renounciation of the chiefship in favour of Gregor MacGregor of Glengyle, who is lineally descended from a son of the laird of MacGregor.

This surname is now divided into four principal families. The first is that of the laird of MacGregor, being in a manner extinct, there being few or none of any account of the same. The

next family to that of Macgregor is Dugal Keir's family, so named from their ancestor Dugal Keir, a son of the laird of MacGregor; the principal person of that family is MacGregor of Glengyle, whose residence and interest is at the head of Lochcattern, in the parish of Callander, in the shire of Perth. The third family is that of Rora, the principal person of which is MacGregor of Rora in Rannoch, in the shire of Perth. The fourth family is that of Brackley, so denominated from Brackley, of which the principal person of that family was not long ago proprietor.

Those of other denominations descended of this surname, are the MacKinnins, being a pretty numerous clan in the isle of Sky; the principal person of that clan hath a pretty good estate in the isles of Sky and Mull. How far this pretension is acquiesced in, I cannot determine; but am confident, that gentleman's armorial bearing differs very much from that of the surname of MacGregor. Another branch of another denomination is that of MacCarras, a pretty numerous sept in the north parts of Perthshire. There are also the MacLeisters, MacChoiters, and divers others, descended of that surname; of which the armorial bearing is,

Argent, a fir tree, growing out of a mount in base vert, surmounted of a sword bend-ways, supporting on its point an imperial crown, in dexter chief canton proper, importing the descent of that surname from one of our kings, or the same having done some signal service to the crown. Motto, *Undoe and spare not.*

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SURNAME OF COLQUHOUN:

AND THE

ANCIENT LAIRDS OF LUSS,

Before the Assumption of that Surname.

THE ancestor of the surname of Colquhoun was Humphrey Kilpatrick, in whose favour Malduin, earl of Lennox, grants charter of the lands of Colquhoun, in the reign of king Alexander II. That of Kirkpatrick, or Kilpatrick, always reputed the place in which St. Patrick the apostle of Ireland was born, is presumed to have obtained that denomination in very ancient times; as is evident by a charter, by Aluin, earl of Lennox, mortifying some lands to the old church of Kilpatrick, before the foundation of the abbey of Paisley, *anno* 1160, that being then, and as it would seem for a long time before, so designed: from which, and the adjoining village of the same denomination, was

an ancient surname in those parts denominated, of which was that Humphrey, who first acquired the lands of Colquhoun, which lands were so named before he acquired the same; the import of which denomination being a sea-coasting corner, or point, to which the former situation of those lands, especially of that now termed Dunglass, the ancient mansion-house thereof, very well agrees; rather than to that from Connaucht in Ireland, or any other to that purpose pretended for the denomination of that surname. The first who assumed the surname of Colquhoun, was Ingram, the above Humphrey's successor, being so designed in the charter of Luss, by Malcolm, earl of Lennox, to Malcolm, laird of Luss, confirming John, laird of Luss, his charter to his son of those lands, in the beginning of the reign of king Robert I. This Ingram's successor was Robert of Colquhoun, who is mentioned, as also his successor of the same name, in divers charters by Malcolm the second, and Donald, earls of Lennox.

To Robert, the second of that name, of Colquhoun, succeeded Humphrey of Colquhoun, who, in the year 1394, and fourth year of the reign of king Robert III. married the daughter and heiress of Godfrey, laird of Luss; however otherwise asserted, that at that time the laird of Luss married the heiress of Colquhoun, it being evident that the family of Luss of that ilk, or, as others, Lennox of Luss, was the greater family, both in respect of antiquity and estate, than that of Colquhoun; so that being the greater, it cannot be presumed he would have quitted his surname, and

assumed that of the lesser upon his marriage with the heiress thereof: as, for instance, MacIntosh, Locheall, and Shaw of Greenock, with many others, whose ancestors, though married to heiresses equal to themselves, retained their surnames: and so it may be thought would Luss upon marrying the heiress of Colquhoun. For further illustration of this matter, Godfrey, laird of Luss, is witness to a charter granted by Duncan, earl of Lennox, in the year 1349; as also Humphrey of Colquhoun is witness in another charter, of the same date, by the same earl; and in the charter of Camstroddan, confirmed by the same earl, in the year 1395, being the very next year, the same Humphrey Colquhoun is designed "of Luss," and Robert, Camstroddan's ancestor, is designed "Robert Colquhoun, his brother:" so that, by the above charters, the time and manner of the marriage of the laird of Colquhoun with the heiress of Luss is fully illustrated.

The most ancient charter now extant of the lands of Luss, is a charter by Malduin, earl of Lennox, to Gilmore, son of Muldonich, of the lands of Luss. This Muldonich, or another of Gilmore's ancestors, is upon very good grounds asserted to be a son of the earl of Lennox, and to have retained the surname of Lennox, or, as others, assumed that of Luss, and retained the same till the marriage of the heiress with Colquhoun. The above charter was in the reign of king Alexander II. but it is thought the estate was given off to one of the ancestors of that family before that charter, though the same be the oldest now extant in

their hands. To Gilmore succeeded Maurice, being only mentioned witness, by designation of Luss, in a charter by the earl, to Maurice Galbraith, of the lands of Auchincloich. Maurice's successor was Sir John of Luss, in whose favour Malcolm, earl of Lennox, grants charter of the lands of Luss, and superiority of Banra, and the adjacent isles belonging in property to Gilmichal, Gilmartin, and Gillecondad, surnamed Galbraiths. To Sir John succeeded Malcolm, in whose favour Malcolm, second son of that name earl of Lennox, grants charter of confirmation of Luss, with the property of Easter Glinn, in the reign of king Robert I. Malcolm's successor was Duncan, in whose favour Donald, earl of Lennox, grants charter, and he is a frequent witness in others of that earl's charters. The last laird of Luss was Godfrey already mentioned.

Humphrey Colquhoun, first of that name, laird of Luss, granted charter of the lands of Camstroddan and Auchigavin, to Robert Colquhoun, his brother, and his heirs male, which failing to another Robert, and Patrick, his other brethren; which charter was written at Luss, and subscribed by the laird, and confirmed by Duncan, earl of Lennox, at Inchmirrin, his mansion-house, upon the 4th day of July, 1395, being the fifth of the reign of king Robert III.

To Humphrey succeeded Sir John, who was married to the lord Erskine's daughter. He was first governor of Dunbarton castle, afterwards of the castle of Inchmirrin, and being enticed, under a show of friendly conference, or parley, to come

out of his garrison, by means of Lauchlan Mac-Lean, and Murdo Gibson, commanders of an army of islesmen, who harrassed Lennox in the minority of king James II., was, by an ambush planted for that purpose, treacherously slain, with one hundred and twenty of his men. I have seen this Sir John designed, in an old Scottish chronicle in manuscript, "Sir John Colquhoun of Luss and Sauchy," the lands of Sauchy and Glyn being reported to be given to Malcolm, laird of Luss, by king Robert I. for his service at the battle of Bannockburn.

Sir John's successor was called Sir John, who was married to the lord Boyd's daughter. He was for some time treasurer to king James III. His successor was Sir Humphrey, married to the laird of Houston's daughter. His second son was Patrick of Glyn, who had a daughter married to Murray of Tullibairn, who had to him seventeen sons. To Humphrey succeeded John, who married the earl of Lennox's daughter, by whom he had John his successor, and James, ancestor of Colquhoun of Kilmardinny, of which family is Colquhoun of Craigtoun; and two daughters married to the lairds of Houston and Kilbirny. John, fourth of that name laird of Luss, was married to the earl of Monteath's daughter, by whom he had Sir Humphrey his successor, Alexander, afterwards laird of Luss, and John. Sir Humphrey was married to the lord Hamilton's daughter, by whom he had one daughter, married to Campbell of Carrick. This Sir Humphrey fought the conflict of Glenfroon, against the MacGregors, and was af-

terwards killed in Benachra castle by the Mac-Farlanes, through influence of a certain nobleman whom Luss had disobliged. He was succeeded by Alexander his brother, who married Helen, daughter to the laird of Buchanan, by whom he had five sons; Sir James his successor, Sir Humphrey of Balvey, Alexander of Glins, Walter, and George. Sir Humphrey, Walter, and George, died without issue.

Sir James of Luss married the earl of Montrose's daughter, and had by her Sir John his successor, Sir James of Corky, and Alexander of Tullichewn. Sir John married Baillie, heiress of Lochend, by whom he had three sons, who died all unmarried, and eight daughters, three of which only had issue, being Lilias, the eldest, married to Stirling of Keir, Christian to Cunningham of Craigends, and Helen to Dickson of Inveresk.

To Sir James succeeded his brother, Sir James of Corky, who was married to Cunningham of Bellyechan's daughter, by whom he had Sir Humphrey his successor, and James. Sir Humphrey was married to the laird of Houston's daughter, by whom he had no children that came to age, but one daughter, Anne, who being heiress of that estate, was married to James Grant of Pluscarden, second son to Grant of that ilk, who, upon the death of Sir Humphrey, succeeded to the estate of Luss, and in a little time thereafter, through decease of brigadier Alexander Grant, his elder brother, without issue, succeeded also to the estate of Grant, being now in possession of both those great and ancient estates, designing his eldest son for

laird of Grant, and his second son for laird of Luss. The principal residence of the lairds of Luss is Rosdoe, pleasantly situated in a little peninsula, upon the south shore of Lochlomond, in the parish of Luss, and shire of Dunbarton.

The next to the family of Luss, of that name, in this kingdom, is Colquhoun of Tullichewn. There is also in the parish of Luss Colquhoun of Camstroddan, descended of a son of the said family in the the reign of king James V. There is Colquhoun of Garscaddan, in the parish of Kilpatrick, descended from the family of Camstroddan, in the minority of queen Mary. There is also Colquhoun of Craigtoun, a cadet of the family of Kilmardinny, as already mentioned. Those of other denominations descended of this surname are the Cowans, pretty numerous in the shire of Fife, and in the east parts of the shire of Stirling. The chief person of that name is Cowan of Corstoun, in Fife. Also the MacMainesses, who are not very numerous. There is also a sept of this surname very numerous in Appin, and other places of Upper Lorn, called MacAchounichs.

The armorial bearing of Colquhoun of Luss is, argent, a saltyre engrailed, sable. Supporters, two hounds sable, collared argent. Crest, a hart's head coupee, gules. Motto, *Si Je Puis.*

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SURNAME OF LAMOND.

THE surname of LAMOND did not upon most occasions associate with most others of the more remote clans: Neveretheless, upon very solid grounds, it hath been always accounted a surname of great antiquity and esteem; the same for divers ages being in possession, and the chiefs thereof lairds, or rather lords, of all Lower Cowal, a very fertile country, and of a large extent, though most part thereof, at several junctures and occasions, (of which the circumstances cannot in this age be discovered,) was wrested out of their hands. The name itself did also sustain very great loss, or diminution, in the time of the civil wars, in the reign of king Charles I., having joined with the marquis of Montrose's party, who stood for the king's interest. Upon the defeat of the Marquis at Philiphaugh, and suppression of that party, the Lamonds for some time defended themselves in their chief's castle of Towart; but being besieged by a party

of the Parliament's forces, were obliged to yield themselves prisoners of war, and as soon as they came into the enemy's hands were all put to the sword; as were also near the same time a great number of the MacDougals and MacNeils, who defended themselves for some time, in the fort of Dunabarty in Kintyre, against lieutenant-general Lesley, after the defeat of Alexander MacDonald's army at Largy: Lesley having given quarters to a party of Irish, who, with the above clans, defended that fort, did put all the Scots, without distinction, to the sword, of which the most part were of those mentioned, with some MacDonalds, after they had surrendered at discretion; so that none of these surnames are any thing so numerous ever since as formerly.

The surname of Lamond is asserted to be descended of Lamond O'Neil, a son of the great O'Neil, provincial king of North Ulster. The chiefs of this surname were allied with very honourable families both in Scotland and Ireland; as with the families of Argyll, MacDonald, Luss, Buchanan, Okyan, lord Dunseverin, and other families in Ireland. I find Duncan MacLamond, who seems to have been laird of Lamond, mentioned witness in a charter, granted, by Duncan, earl of Lennox, in the reign of king Robert III. This surname is always in Irish termed MacLamonds, or clan Lamond.

Archibald, late laird of Lamond, married Margaret, daughter to colonel Hurry, by whom he had no issue; so that the estate went to Dugal Lamond of Stiolaig, as being nearest heir male.

He married Margaret, sister to James, earl of Bute, by whom he had five daughters, the eldest whereof, Margaret, is married to John Lamond of Kilfinan, whose eldest son is to succeed to the estate of Lamond. There are of other denominations descended of this surname, the MacLucases, or Lukes, MacInturners, or Turners, MacAlduies, or Blacks, MacIlwhoms, and Towarts. The laird of Lamond, since the demolition of his castle of Towart, by the above-mentioned siege, resides in Ardlamond, in Upper Cowal. The principal gentlemen of that name are the Lamonds of Silvercraig, Lamond of Willowfield, who, with some other gentlemen, and most others of that surname, reside in Lower Cowal. There is also descended of a son of the laird of Lamond, Burdon of Fedale, in Straithern, with others of that name there, having got that estate by marriage of the heiress thereof some ages ago.

There is also in Argyllshire a gentleman of a small estate, designed MacOrquodale of Faintislands. His interest lyes upon the south side of Lochow, and he is accounted one of the most ancient gentlemen, of his own station, in that shire, or probably of any other in this kingdom, it being with assurance asserted, that the cause of his ancestor's getting that estate was for taking down the head of Alpin, king of the Scots, by night, off the walls of the capital city of the Picts, where these had affixed it, and upon bringing the same to king Kenneth the Great, he was for that service recompenced with that estate, possessed by his successor as yet; and that there was a charter granted of

the said estate by king Kenneth, which is reported to have been sent, upon his earnest request, to Sir George MacKenzie, to be perused by him, some little time before the Revolution, and that the same was not got back. However this be, that gentleman is reputed to be of very great antiquity by all in these parts; but I could not obtain any distinct account of the same, or of his armorial bearing.

There was also a gentleman of a good estate in Kintyre, designed MacKay of Ogendale, which family continued in a very good repute for a good many ages. The principal family is lately extinct. There continues a considerable number of that surname as yet in Kintyre, and the north of Ireland; so that I am very apt to think that the ancestor of the northern MacKays, of which the lord Rae is chief, was descended off this ancient family of that name in Kintyre, rather than from one Forbes, a son of Forbes of Ochanochar, as is asserted by some modern writers.

Lamond for armorial bearing carried sometimes azure, a mond, or globe argent; but the most ancient and more ordinary bearing of that family is azure, a lion rampant, argent. Crest, a hand coupee proper. Motto, *Ne pereas nec spernas.*

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

SURNAME OF MACAULAY.

AS divers of the most ancient surnames in the western parts of the Lennox derive their origin from the family of Lennox; so also the surname of MacAulay may, upon good grounds, be presumed to be descended off that ancient family. For confirmation of this allegation, in a charter, by Malduin, earl of Lennox, to Sir Patrick Graham, of the carrucate of Muckraw, one of the witnesses is Aulay, the earl's brother: as also in another charter, by the same earl, to William, son of Arthur Galbreath, of the two carrucates of Bathernock, and carrucate of Kincruich, now Culcruich, the witnesses are, Duncan and Aulay, the earl's brethren. This Aulay is mentioned in divers other charters of the said earl; as also the said Aulay's son, and successor, designed Duncan, son of Aulay or MacAulay, knight, is inserted in a charter, by the said earl, to Walter Spreul, of the lands of Dalquhern, and in a great many others. I find no mention of this Duncan's successor. The next to be met with, and to be presumed of that family, is Arthur, designed of Arncaple, being

witness in a charter, by Duncan, earl of Lennox, to Murdac, son of Arthur Dinin, of the lands of Drumfad and Kirkmichal; so that this Arthur might be grandchild to Sir Duncan last mentioned. There is a current tradition, that this family, or surname, was designed "Arncaples of that ilk," for some time, until, from one of the chiefs of that family, properly called Aulay, the whole surname was so denominated. But there is much more ground for the first than the last of these suppositions, in regard of the small interval betwixt the time of the above Sir Duncan MacAulay, and that surname's being found upon record to be so denominated as it continues to this present time.

The next of that name to the family of Arncaple, is the representative of major Robert MacAulay, a gentleman of a good estate in Glenerm, in the county of Antrim in Ireland, in which county a great many of that surname reside. There is also a numerous sept of that surname in Caithness and Sutherland, who own their descent off the family of Arncaple, and that gentleman to be their chief. The MacPheidirans of Argyllshire own themselves to be originally of this surname. The principal residence of the laird of Arncaple is the castle of Ardincaple, in the shire of Dunbarton, situated upon the north side of the Frith of Clyde, opposite to the town of Greenock.

The armorial bearing of MacAulay of Arncaple is, gules, two darts their points conjoined in base, in form of a cheveron reversed argent, surmounted of a fess checky of the second and first. Crest, a boot coupee at the ancle, with a spur thereon proper. Motto, *Dulce Periculum.*

HEIR FOLLOWIS

THE GENEOLOGIES

OF THE

CHIEFF CLANS OF THE ILES:

COLLECTED BY ME

SIR DONALD MONRO,

HEIGH DEAN OF THE ILES.

Imprimis, Clan-Donald, and of them five branches in the Iles by branches smaller.

FIRST, Donald Gormesone his kin are called of surname Hutscheon, that is to say, the succession of Hutscheon M'Donald, quhom of they descendit and sprange. Therefore this man is called Donald M'Donald Gorme, Vic Donald Gurmacke, Vic Donald Gorvaicke, Vic Hutscheon, quo was sone to Alexander of Ila, earl of Rosse, and lord of the Iles, or, as the Heighlandmen calls him, king of the Iles.

And this Alexander was sone to Donald earle of Rosse, by the marriage of Valter Lesley earle of Rosse, daughter and heir; and this earle Donald wes the first earle of memory that of the Clanronald justly bruikit Rosse.

And this Donald wes the stocke, quherfra Clanronald were named last in ther names, quha wes sone to Jhone of Ila, and of the best that came of that sorte, quho had the Stewarte to his wyffe, mother to this Donald forsaid.

This Jhone of Ila wes sone to Angus M'Angus, Vic Donald, fra quhome they were called first, and of the auld clan Donald.

This Donald wes the sone of Raynald M'Somerle or Somerledi, frae quhome they were for a quhile named and called clan Somerle.

This Somerle wes the sone of Gillebryde M'Gilleadam, name Vic Sella, Vic Mearshaighe, Vic Swyffine, Vic Malhheussa, Vic Eacime, Vic Gothefred, fra quhome they were called at that time clan Gothofred, that is, clan Gotheray in Hybers Leid, and they were verey grate men in that tymes of zeire, and ay on called clan Gotherey, quhill Donald Gorme, quhome I last made mentione.

This Gotheray wes the sone of Fergus M'Eriche, Vic Cartayne, Vic Ethay, Vic Thola Craisme, Vic Ethay de wiff Leist. Ethodius Vic Frathrequerwy fratherus, Vic Clarpre Lisse Chuyr, Corbredus, Vic Chrorinweet Alada, Cormacus Vic Airt, Lermeche king of Irland, mist royall in all his actions. Vic Chuyin Chidekakey, Condus lenti bellus king of Irland, a royal prince, and lyon like in all his actions of warre, of quhome I make thir the stoke in Irland, for that he is lineally descendit of Gathelus seed.

Clan Ean-more, the second house of the Clan Donald.

Sir James Macconeill of Kyntyre is the second

house of the Iles, quho is the sone of Alexander M'Jhone, Vic Anald Agnaldi, Vic Ean Johannis, Vic Donald Ballay, Vic Ean, of quhom they are called to surname Sleight Ean Moire successio Johannis Magni, quho wes sone to Jhone the best lord of the Iles, as I have said off befor, quho had the Stewarte's dauchter to his ladey. Heir I impe this branche to the tree justly as is afforsaid.

Clan Raynald, the third house of the ClanDonald.

Jhone Moydeor Tyeiche is the sone of Alexander Macallan, filius Alani, Vic Rorey Roderici, Vic Ean Johanis, Vic Raynald Reginaldi, quhome I impe to this good Jhone of Ila, his father forsaid. Heir sprouted twa branches out of the tree at ance, that is, the clan Ean-moire and the clan Raynald.

Clan Ean of Ardnamorachin, the fourte house of the Clan-Donald.

Alexander M'Donald Donaldi M'Ean Johannis M'Aloir Alexandri M'Angus M'Ean Achechterwache M'Angus Moire, who wes the lord of the Iles, and him I impe to the tree.

Alexander Carrath, the fyfte house of ClanDonald.

Neirest this descendit frae the house of Clan-Donald is Alexander Carrath, that is, Shawit Alexander sua that be the countrie's custome, because Highlandmen callit the fairest hared man Chewit man, and the Chewit the hared, and sua furthe, for this Alexander was the fairest hared man as they say of aney that ever was; and this said Alexander was brother to this Donald of the

Iles forsaid, and to John Moir, fra quhome James Kyntyre descendit, and brother of the father syde to Raynald, of quhome came the ClanRanald.

And this Carrath hes maney come of him, and good succession in Lochaber called ClanRanald, M'Donald Glasse, Vic Alexander, quhilk bruikes a pairt of Lochaber sinsyne.

Ther wes, by thir I have wretten offe, Jhone Gothofred, and Angus, the quhilke had nae succession.

A

BRIEFE CHRONICLE

OF THE

EARLES OF ROS, AND ABBOTS OF FERNE.

THER wer fyve earles of Ros successively and immediately before Walter Lesly that marryed the heretrix of Ros, quherof the first was called Ferquhard, the second William, the third William, the fourth Hew, and the fifth William, who was father to Eufiam the heretrix, spous to the forsaid Walter Lesly.

Walter Lesly begot on Eufiam ane sone called Alexander, (who was marryed on a doughter of duk Robert Stewart, (governor of Scotland,) by whom he haid only a doughter called Mary, who dyed a virgin,) and ane doughter called Eufiam, who was marryed on Donald, lord of the Yles, (who fought the battle of Harlaw). This Donald begot on Eufiam Lesly, Alexander, earle of Ros, and Alexander begot Jon of Ila, earle of Ros, who resigned his right to the earldom of Ros, in king James the third, his favors, in the year 1476.

quherby the said earldom becom to be annexed to the crowne.

1. Ferquhard, the first earle of Ros, (upon a certan occasion,) maid a vowe that he should found ane abbey of the first religious men he should meit, and meiting with two whyt channons in Galloway, (having certan of sanct Ninian's relicts,) he brought them to Ros, and founded an abbay of that order at Ferne, beside Kintarue in Strathcharron, (quherof som pairt remaynes as yet to be seen,) and maid ane of the said channons (called Malcolme,) abbot thereof, who, being abbot fifteen yeirs, deceist, and was burryed in the sam place, and after his death was holdin be his people as a sanct.—Therafter the said earle, with consent of the abbot [and] brethren of the said place, for the more tranquillitie, peace and quietnes therof, translated the said monastrie quhernow presently it stands, the twenty-seventh yeir of the said Ferquhard's earldom, and yeir of God . . . . .—At this tym was the second abbot called Malcolme of Nig.

Ferquhard, earle of Ros, dyed in Tayne, upon the first day of Februarie, 1251.

2. Unto Ferquhard succeeded William his sone, who maryed ane doughter of John Cumming, earle of Buchan; he lived twenty-four yeirs earle, and dyed at Earles-Allane, the 17th of December, 1274.

In his tym was the third abbot called Maccabeus Mackhersin.

3. Unto this William succeeded his sone William, the third earle, who was mad earle at Whit-

sunday the said yeir;—he lived forty-nine yeirs earle, and was marryed on Mauld, sister to the king.

In his tym Robert, earle of Carrick, mad insurrection, pretending to the crowne of Scotland, quherupon the king entered in confederacie with him, and gave him his sister to wyff, as said is, who bore to him a son called Hew.

This William was a long tym imprisoned in England for his fidelity to the crowne of Scotland, and depairted in Delny in Ros, the 28th of January, 1322.

In tym of this earle William wer divers abbots of Ferne; the first was called Martin, ane channon of Whythorne, (not choysen, but presented be the pryor of Whythorne). Nixt, ther was ane other brother of the said house of Whythorne, called John, (who was invested, not choysen). The third was called Mark Ros, son to Sir Mark Ros, (not choysen be the convent of Ferne, but presented be the pryor of Whythorn). This Mark, abbot, entered in the said monastrie two years befor the decease of the said earle William, and found the said place destitute of idoneous persones, ornaments, biggings, and other guids. He governed that place weell in his tym, and, according to the order, instructed them dilligently.

4. In tym of this Mark, abbot, Hew, sone to prementionat William, was maid earle upon St. Patrick's day, the 17th day of March, after the decease of his father, viz. 1323, and lived earle ten years, and, in the defence of the realme, departed

in the conflict of Halydoune-hill, besyd Berwick, the 18th of the calends of August, 1333.

He maryed the lord Graham's doughter, who bore to him William, fifth earle of Ros, and Hew, who was first laird of Belnagowne.

5. Unto Hew succeedit his sone William, (the third of that nam, and fifth earle of Ros,) who, after three years' banishment in Norway, com home, and, having gathered a great armie, invaded the towne of Pearth, then garrisond be the English, and, having drawn the water from them, constrayned them to depairt out of the towne.

He was most friendly to all religious persones, and repaired and re-edifyed all the biggings and manor-places of his predecessors in sindrie pairts of Ros; he was maid earle after his returne from exyle, on Fryday before Whitsunday, in the year 1336.

This William, be the advyce and counsell of Roger, bishope of Ros, the said Mark, then abbot of Ferne, and haill convent, caused re-edify the abbey kirk of Ferne, (being formerly bigged of ruch staine and clay,) and bigged it of new, with hewin work, quhilk work was begune the second year after the said William was maid earle of Ros, that is, in the year 1338, and the said Mark, abbot, dyed among his bretherin, after the beginning of the said work, in the year 1355, and was honorablie buryed within the said kirk.—Unto this Mark succeeded Donald Peibles. This earle William considering the channons of Ferne haid frie power of election be pope Urban the fourth, in whose

tyme they were founded, and others, from the beginning of the said order, giving them special priviledges, he, (the said William,) for keeping all ther juries and rights to the said religious men, ordered that nether election nor presentation should, on no wages, be haid to them from uthers, but within the said abbacy, according to the institutione of Augustin, and that som worthy persones be elected out of the bosome of the said place; and for ther entres they elected and presented the said Donald abbot, who refused the sam for the invie of presentation which he haid of Whythorne; yet, shortly therafter, he was elected abbot with consent of the haill brethren, and past (accompanyed with ane brother called John Abernethie,) to Whythorne, to the pryor therof, in his erand of election, quher, after many reasons and contraversies the pryor of Whythorne and convent therof confirmed and approved the election of the said Donald mad at Ferne.

In the dayes of this earle William, and in abbot Donald's tym, the staine work of the said kirk was ended; and als the timmer work therof, be the supplie of the said earle, was also finished.

This earle William, having repaired the kirk and abbay of Ferne, granted to the sam, for his soule and his predecessors', the kirk of Tirradaile in Ros, that was at his presentatione, and obtained consent to the abbey of Ferne therupon, be the bishope and chapter of Ros, for whose saule every channone, under great payne, was appoynted ilk day to say ane mass at the hich altar.

This William lived earle thirty-five yeires, and

deceased at Delny, the 9th day of February, 1369 yeirs.—[*Manuscript of Rig*, 1371, *9th February.*]

To abbot Donald Peibles succeeded Donald Adam Monilaw, who deceisit at Ferne, the 10th of September, 1407.

6. And in his tym was earle of Ros, Walter Lesly, who maryed Eufiam, doughter to the said earle William, and depairted at Pearth, the penult day of February, 1381.

7. To him succeided Alexander Lesly his sone, who maryed ane doughter of duk Robert Stewart's, governor of Scotland, and got on hir ane doughter called Mary, who dyed ane virgin; and the said Alexander deceised at Dingwell, in his young adge, the 8th day of May, 1402.

And after that, on Thomas Kathirnach sent to the pryor of Whythorne to be abbot of Ferne. This Thomas was given to the lust of the flesh, and it is uncertan what was his end.

After this was ane abbot, Finlay M'Faid, oy of Sir Ferrier, viccar of Tayne, who, for a certan space, governed the place of Ferne, and dyed the 15th of October, 1436.

Therafter, Alexander of Yla, lord of the Yles, and son to Donald of the Yles who marryed Eufiam Lesly, becam earle of Ros, and justice benorth Forth.

This Alexander dyed at Dingwell, and was burryed in the channonrie of Ros, the 8th of May, 1449.

King James the first, in the yeir . . . . , caused behead James Campbell, for murdering Johne of of the Yles, a man dearly beloved of his people.

8. In the year 1428, Alexander, lord of the Yles, was arrested be the king at Invernes, for his mantaining of theeves and robbers, and brought prisoner to Edinbrugh, and, shortly therafter, for promising to reforme his maners, was pardoned and set at libertie, quherof ther ensued great trouble imediatly therafter, for he gathered a great many reavers and robbers, and burnt the towne of Invernes and beseedged the castle therof, enforceing with all dilligence to win the sam, till he was advertised that the king was comming with ane great powr, quherupon he fled to the Yles, and therafter, being informed that many lay in wait to tak him, he cam, disguised in poor array, to Halyroodhouse, and ther finding the king, on pasch day, in the kirk at his prayers, he fell on his knees before him, and besought him for grace, for his saik who raise that day from death to lyfe, and at the queen's request the king pardond his lyfe, but appoynted William Duglas, earle of Angus, to have the custody of him, and that within the castle of Tantallon, that no trouble should ryse by his mean therafter. His mother, Eufiam Lesly, doughter to Walter Lesly, earle of Ros, was also committed to ward in St. Colm's Insh, becaus it was knowen that shee solicited her son Alexander to rebellion against the king, in maner forsaid.

Not long after, Donald Baldach Makdonald, coosen-german to the earle of Ros, com with a great power of men into Lochaber, quher the earles of Mar and Cathnes com, with such power of men as they could conveen, to defend the countrey against

the invasion of the Hylandmen, and fought against the said Donald at Inverlochy, quher the earle of Cathnes was slayne and the earle of Mar discomfited.

This Donald therafter taking banishment to Ireland, for his rebellion was taken be a lord of Yrland, and his head sent to the king of Scotland.

9. In May, 1476, the king raised a puissant army in pursuit of the lord of the Yles, both by sea and land. The earle of Atholl (the king's uncle by his father,) was mad lieutennent-generall to the land-forces, who acted so as the lord of the Yles was forced, in the beginning of July nixt therafter, to submitt himself to the king, quher ther was ane agreement mad and confirmed betwixt them, that Mackdonald should resigne in the king's hands all the right he haid to the earldom of Ros and lands of Kintyre; and at this tym Ros was annexed to the crowne, and M'Donald continued lord of the Yles and earle of Ros during his dayes.

The king gave also to the earle of Atholl, for his service in the aforsaid expedition, the lands and forrest of Cluny.

In tym of the aforsaid Jon, lord of the Yles, was abbot Finlay MakFaid, who did many good works during his being * * * *

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[*The remainder, which occupied two leaves of the manuscript, is wanting.*]

OF THE CLAN-GUNN, CLAN-LEOD, AND CLAN-LEANDRIS.

IT is recorded, that three brether, called Guin, Leod, and Leandris, com out of Denmark, to the north pairts of Scotland, to follow ther fortune; and that Guin took possession of the breas of Cathnes, quher his posterity remanes to this day, called the Clan-gunn. Leod conquest the Lewes; and of him ar descended the M'Leods of Lews and the rest of the name of M'Leod; and that Leandris conquest Brea-chatt, viz. Lairgg, the parish of Creich, Slischilish, or Ferrincoskie, together with the lands of Strath-charron, Strathhockell, Scrivater, and Glenbeg. To this Leandris succeeded his son Tyre, and to Tyre, Paull M'Tyre, whose doughter and heire (called Katerin,) was marryed to Walter, (agnamed Cluggmach,) laird of Belnagowne.

Of the forsaid Leandris ar descendit the haill Clan-leandris, now surnamed Ros: Paull M'Tyre, aforsaid, (grandchild to Leandris,) was a valiant man, and caused Cathnes pay him black maill. It is reported, that he got nyn scoir of cowes yeirly, out of Cathnes, for black maill, so long as he was able to travell.

This Paull had a sone called Murdo-reoch, (a stout and hardie captan,) who (quhill he was taking up his custom ky,) was killed be the Cathnesmen at the Spittell hills, and Murdo's bairns, comming out of Cathnes then, wer drowned at Helmsdaill.

Paull M'Tyre built a house in Creich, called Drumscreich, with such a kynd of hard mortar that at this day it cannot be knowen quherof it was maid; and, as he was building this house, he haid intelligence that his only sone was slayne in Cathnes, which mad him desist from furder building quhen he haid almost finished the sam, and shortly therafter dyed for displeasyr of his lost sone.

The lands of Creich-moir and Slischilish, lyand on aither syd of the water of Portinculter, ar called Ferrin-coscarie, and did appertain somtyme to the Clandonald, which they haid from the earles of Ros, who, possessit the sam, as appears be ane ininfeftment, granted to the earle of Ros, be king Robert Bruce, the sixteenth year of his raigne, and yeir of our Lord 1322, of certan lands, and especially of the lands of Ferrin-coscarie, or Slischilish, desyned to ly within the earldome of Sutherland.

Thes lands of Ferrin-coscarie fell to the lairds of Kildone and Glengarrie, by the marriage of two sisters of the surname of Clandonald, who wer heretrices of the sam. Which lands wer sold be Glengarrie and Kildone to the Bains; and the Baynes disponed them to the Monros.

A

HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL

ESSAY

UPON

THE FAMILY AND SURNAME

OF

BUCHANAN.

By WILLIAM BUCHANAN of Auchmar.

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BUCHANAN.

I MAY, upon very solid grounds, presume, that any one who offers to treat of the genealogy of any Scottish surnames, which can lay any just claim to considerable antiquity, especially such as are planted in or near the more remote or Highland parts of this kingdom, cannot in reason be supposed to have records, or written documents, upon which any thing that ordinarily is, or rationally may be advanced upon such a subject, can be founded; there being for the most part little diligence used by these surnames or clans in obtaining, and though obtained, in preserving any such documents; as is evidently instanced by the deportment of the nobility and barons to king Ro-

bert the I. upon his requiring them to produce their evidents: there being also many contingencies, particularly the feuds so frequent betwixt families of these clans, carried on to such a degree of violence and animosity, and so detrimental to the private affairs of all concerned therein. Besides, the public commotions affecting the nation in general, may in reason be imagined a palpable means of the loss of many private evidents in custody of those, subject in a greater measure to such inconveniences, than were many other surnames planted in the more inland places. Though, indeed, some who treat of the origin even of some of those last mentioned, are obliged to found their allegations in relation to the origin of these surnames, of which they treat, upon probable and solid tradition. As for instance, that exquisite historian of the celebrated surname of Douglas; also the historian of the surname of Lesly; as indeed, in general, all who treat of that subject use the same method in relation to the more ancient surnames. The reason being obvious which obliges them so to do, if that allegation be as generally allowed, as the same is asserted by the greatest part of our modern writers, that there can be no written record or evident evinced to have existed, or at least be produced of a more ancient date than the reign of king David the I. which commenced in the year 1124. So that in that case, all those surnames, whose origin is asserted to be more ancient than the commencement of that reign, must of necessity be founded upon tradition. Upon which account, and more especially that of the practice of the above-mentioned histo-

rians, I judged it cannot be esteemed any disparagement to me, or to the subject I resolve to treat of, to be obliged to found the account of the origin of the surname of BUCHANAN in general, and of six of the first principal men of that family successively in particular, upon probable and uncontroverted tradition. In regard, conform to the more modern method used in genealogizing that surname, the origin of the same is extended to a more ancient date than the reign already mentioned. Though, mean while, I am much more inclinable to join sentiments with those of the more ancient seneciones, or genealogists, who, upon very solid grounds, contend the generality of our clans, and more ancient surnames, whose origin is truly Scottish, to be the real and genuine progeny of the Gathelian, or Scottish colonies, which in the several junctures before and afterwards, under the conduct of the two kings Fergus I. and II. came from Ireland, and planted Scotland. And for confirmation of this supposition, these demonstrate, that many of the most potent and ancient surnames in Ireland are of the same denomination, (except what must be allowed to some little difference of the dialect and accent of the Irish language used in both nations,) with a great many of the most ancient and modern of our Highland clans; as the O'Donels and O'Neils with our MacDonalds and MacNeils; MacCustulas, almost the same with MacAuslan, the ancient denomination of the now surname of Buchanan, with divers others. A good many of the clans do as yet closely adhere to this ancient kind of genealogy. Some others of them

are induced to adhere to a newer form, composed by a set of men some ages ago, come in place of the ancient seneciones, which arrogate to themselves the title of Antiquaries. These rejecting the ancient method, as too general, and inconsistent with the notions of these more modern ages, have composed genealogies in their opinion more exact and circumstantiate than the former, by fixing, upon certain periods of time, the manner and other circumstances relating to the families or clans of whom they treat. But all their allegations being founded upon tradition, and the matters they treat of being generally of more ancient date than the ages of these antiquaries, they are subject to the same inconveniences, and, in my opinion, can be allowed only the same measure of historical credit due to the most ancient of the traditions delivered by the former, if equally solid and probable. However, in regard this last method is that more generally received by, and most agreeable to, the taste and sentiments of the greater part of those of the present, and some bygone ages, I shall conform myself thereto as to what I am to offer in relation to the origin, and other concerns of the surname of Buchanan. And in regard these latter antiquaries do derive the genealogy of some of our Scottish clans, upon very good grounds, from the Danes, rather induced thereto by the fame acquired by the Danes by their martial achievements, for some ages in Britain and Ireland, than upon any other solid ground, or show of truth; and more especially, seeing the progenitor of the surname of Buchanan (according to the above antiquaries) was

obliged to abandon Ireland, through tyranny of the same Danes, then domineering over that kingdom, I presume it will not be esteemed too incoherent with the ensuing subject, nor unacceptable to those who shall have occasion of perusing the same, that I should briefly glance at the origin of that people, and some few of these surprising achievements managed by them in Britain and Ireland, and some other parts, as a native introduction to the account of the time, manner, and cause of the Buchanans, their ancestor, or his abandoning Ireland.

The Danes, according to their own and divers other historians, are the native progeny of the ancient Cimbrians; who, as Puffendorff relates, had kings for some ages before our Saviour's nativity, having dominion over Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and some other northern regions. That people was of such a gigantic stature and unparalleled fierceness, as gave occasion to Livy, prince of the Roman historians, to relate them to be framed by nature for the terror and destruction of other mortals. These Cimbrians in the third consulship of the famous Caius Marius, (then the glory, though afterwards the scourge, of his native country,) to the number of four hundred thousand fighting men, with their wives and children, went to invade Italy, which put the Romans in no small consternation, concluding their state in a manner lost; and probably it would have been so, had not, as Livy observes, such a brave and politic captain as Marius been their general at that juncture, who by divers stratagems weakened the power, and broke the fierceness of these

barbarians, and in conclusion engaged their army, and entirely defeated the same, with the slaughter of one hundred and forty thousand of them. Their wives and children during the battle being placed in waggons, on both wings of their army, greatly molested the Romans with slings, and other missive weapons; but at last observing the defeat, they in the first place killed their children, and lastly themselves; the women as well as men partaking in a great measure of that fierceness natural to their nation. This fatal defeat struck such a terror to the Cimbrians, as for some ages thereafter deterred them from encroaching upon the Roman territories; till in the middle of the fifth century of the christian epocha, having some ages before that, changed the name of Cimbrians into that of Danes, they made up a part of that formidable army with which Attila the Great, king of the Huns, attempted to subvert the Roman empire in the reign of the emperor Valentinian III. and year 451. And in regard these were the two most formidable armies that ever invaded the Roman state and empire, and contributed very much towards subverting the same, I shall briefly recount the manner and success of this expedition of Attila, in which the Danes were concerned, and shall than proceed to narrate some of the most considerable actions performed by them in Britain and Ireland.

Attila was king of the Huns, now Hungarians, and did by his courage and conduct bring under his subjection most part of all these nations betwixt the Euxine and Baltic Seas, entitling himself "Attila the Great, king of the Huns, of the Medes,

Goths, Vandals, Gepidæ and Danes, the scourge of God, and terror of the world." This magnanimous and ambitious prince resolved to subdue the Roman empire, then in the decline, and in order thereto levied an army of five hundred thousand chosen men, which, the quality of general and soldiers duly considered, was not only of power to subdue the Roman empire, but as it might seem, the whole known world. Etius, who indeed may be accounted the last of the Roman heroes, being general of the Roman army in Gaul, and being informed of the march of this army towards that country, not only mustered all the force the Roman empire could raise, but also those of the Visi-Goths, and Alans of Spain, Franks and Burgundians of France, all at that time in confederacy with the Romans; by which means he made up an army equal to that of Attila, and engaged in battle with him in the large plains of Chalons, near the city of Lyons in France. This battle lasted a whole day, with the loss in end of one hundred and eighty thousand of Attila's army, and one hundred thousand of that of Etius. The slaughter was so prodigious, that the waters of a rivulet which traversed the plains where the battle was fought, were so increased with blood, as carried many dead bodies divers miles with the current thereof. Attila being in a manner defeated, and not in condition to make a safe retreat, caused fortify his camp with waggons in the night-time, and ordered his army to defend the same to the utmost. Meanwhile, having caused a large pile of combustible matter to be erected in the middle of his camp, he ordered, if the enemy

should enter his camp per-force, that fire should be put to the pile, and his body burnt therein, to prevent the enemy from triumphing over the same. Etius next morning observing Attila's army in a posture of defence, and, considering the loss his own had sustained, thought not fit to assault such a number of desperate men; therefore he drew off his army, and by that means gave opportunity to Attila to march away with his.

The Danes, with their neighbours the Saxons, for some considerable time before, but in far greater number after this expedition of Attila, having fitted out a great many long small vessels, by them termed Kiuls, and having put a great many of their people on board the same, grievously infested the coasts of Britain, France and Ireland, and the Netherlands with their piracies; but in a greater measure the coasts of England and Ireland. For no sooner had the Saxons wrested the sovereignty of England from the Britons, than the Danes began their attempts upon the Saxons by frequent depredations and rapine committed upon the sea-coasts of their dominions; till in the year 858, and reign of Ethelred the I. of that name, and IV. monarch of the Saxons, or Englishmen, the Danish king, being influenced by Biorn a discontented Saxon nobleman, sent a numerous army under command of Hubba his son, and Hungar a Danish nobleman, in order to invade England; who, having first landed in Scotland, judging by the easy conquest thereof, to open their way into England, were herein disappointed, being engaged by Constantine, the Scottish king, at Leven-water in Fife, and the

one half of their army commanded by Hubba defeated; but being relieved by the other part, the Danes, in the night-time, marched in all haste to Crail, where their ships rode at anchor, and embarking their army with all diligence, sailed for England, in which arriving, they engaged with Edmund and Osbright, tributary kings of the east Angles and Northumberland, killed these two princes in battle, and possessed most part of their dominion. And not only so, but in a short time obliged the Saxon kings of England to pay them a vast tribute yearly, which they augmented at pleasure upon every advantage they obtained, till in the end it became so insupportable, as to put Ethelred the II. of that name, king of England, upon a very tragical method of redressing the same, by giving private orders to his subjects to assassinate all the Danes throughout England in one night; which was punctually performed upon the eleventh of November, 1013. But this massacre was not attended with the projected success; for Sueno, king of Denmark, informed of his countrymen's fate, arrived next year with a potent army in England, and having defeated Ethelred in divers battles, obliged him in the end to abandon his dominions, and fly to Normandy; Sueno meantime taking possession of the whole kingdom, and retaining possession thereof till his death, as did Canutus his son, Harold and Hardiknout his grandchildren, for the space of twenty-six years, with greater authority than any ever did that kingdom. And if the royal line of their kings at that period of time had not failed, and their native country Denmark

been harrassed with civil wars, in all human probability England might have continued for a much longer time, if not as yet, under the dominion of the Danes.

English historians assert their countrymen to be brought to the utmost degree of slavery, during the Danes their government; there being a Dane quartered in each Englishman's house, and the Englishman being upon all occasions necessitated to show a deal of reverence and respect towards his guest, and to address him always by the title of lord, which gave a rise to the term of Lurdan, given in after ages to idle useless fellows. Yea, the English were brought to that pitch of dejection and servile adulation, as to urge their Danish king Canutus to receive divine adoration or honour from them. For which purpose, a vast confluence of his subjects attending that king near Southampton, he ordered his throne to be placed within the sea-mark, and being set thereon at the season the tide flowed, he commanded the waters to keep back and not to approach him; but the sea disobeying his orders, he was obliged to retire therefrom; upon which he caused proclaim aloud, that none should presume to give divine adoration to any, but to such as the sea and all other created beings behoved to obey. These, and divers such stories, English writers relate concerning the servitude imposed upon them by the Danes, whose avarice and ambition was not satiated with the conquest of England, but they did also invade France under the conduct of a noble Dane, named Rollo. And though that nation was then governed by Charles

the Bald, a very martial prince, yet after a tedious and bloody war, he was obliged to yield to Rollo the province of Neustria to be possessed by him and his army, the name of which, after obtaining, he changed into Normandy, *anno* 866. The seventh in descent from Rollo was duke William of Normandy, who, in the year 1066, with a potent army invaded England, and at Hastings engaged in battle with the English king, Harold, who, with fifty-six thousand six hundred and fifty-three of his English soldiers, was killed: and duke William, by that one battle, having entirely conquered England, was afterwards termed William the Conqueror.

The Danes being desirous to try their fortune once more in Scotland, to retrieve the loss lately sustained by them therein, invaded that kingdom the second time, under the command of Hago and Helricus, in the reign of king Indulfus; but with no better success than at first, being beat back into their ships, and obliged to sail off for England. Notwithstanding of these reiterated losses, they with a more numerous army than in any former time, invaded Scotland the third time, in the reign of king Kenneth the III. and year 988. The Scottish king with his army engaged in battle with the Danes at Luncarty, within few miles of Perth, in which the left wing of the Scottish army was defeated; which one Hay, with his two sons observing, who were ploughing at the time near the place of battle, pulled the beams off their ploughs, and entered a strait pass through which the Scots were flying, and beat down promiscuously all who came

within their reach. The Danes, amazed at the sudden change, retired to the body of their own army; as did the flying Scots, not a little encouraged, with all speed join theirs: and by a miracle of Divine Providence, within a few hours, obtained a glorious victory, by the assistance of these three heroic persons, being progenitors of the noble and ancient name of HAY.

The Danes, by these repeated defeats, being rather incensed, than dejected, with a greater army and more resolute than ever, invaded Scotland the fourth time; under command of Ollaus viceroy of Norway, and Enecus governor of Denmark, in the year 1010, and sixth of the reign of king Malcolm the II.; who with his army engaged in battle with the Danes at Mortlich, and after a bloody and obstinate battle, defeated that potent army, with the death of one of their generals, Enecus. Sueno the Danish king, governing then in England, sent an army, under command of Camus, to reinforce the remainder of the Danish troops in Scotland; which being done, king Malcolm defeated that army. Also at Balbride the Danish general Camus being slain by a Scottish gentleman called KEITH, ancestor of that honourable family, Sueno irritated to a degree, upon intelligence of the late defeat, sent the most potent Danish army that in any age invaded Scotland, under command of his son Canutus. King Malcolm, notwithstanding of the vast loss he had sustained in the two former engagements, did, with unparalleled resolution and bravery, engage in battle with this army also, which continued till night separated them. The Scots

keeping the field, were reputed victors, and as such, were addressed next day for peace by the Danes, which was concluded upon very honourable terms to the Scots.

It is recorded, that for a long time after the battle of Luncarty, all Danes and Norvegians, who received the honour of knighthood, were solemnly sworn upon all occasions to revenge their countrymen's blood upon the Scots: but that after this last battle fought by king Malcolm, there was a curse imprecated upon all such of those nations as should attempt to invade the cursed Scots; which imprecation, it seems, took effect in the Danes their two last invasions of Scotland, by Sueno, and Acho, kings of Norway, in the reign of king Duncan the I. and Alexander the II. of Scotland: the first of these Norvegian kings getting off only so many as manned one ship, and the other scarcely what could man four, of their two numerous armies. So that the Danes, who were a terror and scourge to most of the neighbouring nations, reaped no other advantage by their frequent invasions of Scotland, than that the same, upon very good grounds, should be termed *Danorum Tumulus*, The grave of the Danes.

The reason which partly induced me to insist at such a length upon the Danes their wars in Scotland, and conquests in other parts, was, to illustrate the Scots their heroic valour and bravery, so conspicuously superior to that of any of their neighbouring nations of these times, to the conviction of all, who industriously, if not maliciously, endeavour to derogate in any degree therefrom. For

though the reason why the Scots, after divers attempts for that effect, continued unconquered by the Romans, be imputed to the inaccessibleness of their country, by which means they were defended, rather than by force of arms; yet no such reason can hold, in the Danes their frequent invasions of them; all that war being managed in the open fields, with plain force, and fair play, as the proverb runs. While at the same time, most other nations, with whom they had dealings, were either obliged to submit to their yoke, or allow them very advantageous conditions, as is evident by what is already mentioned, and no less so by what follows.

In relation to Ireland, the historians of that nation assert the Danes to have begun their descents and depredations in the beginning of the fourth century, upon the seacoasts of that kingdom; which obliged Cormackulfada, then king of Ireland, to employ three thousand, or, as others say, nine thousand of the choice men of the kingdom; which number he appointed as a standing army, for opposing the insults, and restraining the rapines of these Danish pirates. These forces were termed Feans, being the ancient Irish term for giants; and their general was termed king of Feans, than which the Irish use no other term as yet in their own language for a general. About the middle of the fifth century, the Irish, with some of our Scottish historians, assert Finmacoel to be general of these Irish forces; whose huge stature and actions against the Danes, and others, are somewhat above measure extolled in divers rude rhymes, in their own language, retained as yet by the Irish,

and by some of our Scottish Highlanders. However, this general, with these under his command, gave so many checks to the Danes, as obliged them for some time to desist from infesting his native country. But he was badly rewarded for his good service by his ungrateful countrymen, who esteemed those forces useless in time of peace, and desirous to be free of some little tax of clothes, arms and provision, ordinarily paid them, upon their refusing to disband, by the permission, or rather contrivance of Corbred the Irish king, Fean with all his forces were assassinated in one night. Which inhuman action was not long unpunished: the Danes within few years thereafter, having with greater numbers and violence than at any former time, infested the coasts of that kingdom, and finding the same destitute of the disciplined troops, which were in use to oppose their insolences, were thereby encouraged to march a good way into the inland country; which having done with little or no opposition, they fortified themselves in a convenient place, and sending some of their number to Denmark for more forces, which they obtained in a short space, subdued a good part of the kingdom; having fortified and garrisoned a good many of the seaport towns thereof, and also built throughout the kingdom, forts at convenient distances, termed in Irish, Raes, or wheels, in regard their form was round like that of a wheel. These forts were ordinarily built upon eminences, the inside thereof raised with stone, and the outside faced with square turf, of a considerable height and breadth, that four men might walk abreast round

the same. The buildings were joined round the inside with sloping roofs. There were also two, sometimes more ports, or entries, with stairs mounting to the battlement, and a draw-well or spring within each. The garrisons kept in these, with the others in the fortified towns, so overawed the Irish, that they durst not fall upon any means, or so much as think of regaining their liberty; although they had always elective kings of their own natives, not always of the old line of their kings, but more often of other stems, the state of the country obliging them to choose men of valour and conduct, without much regard had to their pedigree. These elective kings were rather kings in name, than effect, being in condition for a long time of doing no other service in behalf of their country, than to keep themselves with such as adhered to them in woods, mountains, and other inaccessible places, being intent upon all occasions to cut off such small parties of the Danes as they found either robbing or purchasing provisions in the country.

Things continued in this state till the year 998, in which the Irish elected a valiant nobleman, and eminently expert in martial feats, for their king, called Brian MacKennedy: who entering upon the government, and pondering with himself what insuperable difficulties he was to grapple with, in supporting the burden of such a disordered state, did fall upon the most effectual methods he could in prudence imagine, for remedy of the present inconveniences; and for that effect having called his whole subjects to a general rendezvous, he elected out of them nine thousand men, which number

he kept as a standing army in place of the old Feans, terming this new army Dalgheass. For the subsistence of these, he imposed upon that part of the kingdom subject to him, a tax in money, which seems the first of that nature imposed there. This king upon that account was termed Brianboray, or the taxer, who, with his select band of the Dalgheass, with other forces, prosecuted the war so successfully against the Danes, that he not only defeated them in divers battles, but also obliged them to abandon their whole forts, or raes, throughout the kingdom; and in fine, immured them within the four strong towns of Dublin, Limerick, Cork, and Kingsail. These being supplied by the Danish pirates at sea, king Brian resolved to deprive them of that advantage, by ordering a certain number of ships to be rigged out for clearing the coasts of these Danish pirates. For this purpose, he ordered the provincial kings, and other nobility, to convey certain quantities of timber to the next adjacent seaports, and amongst others, Mallmoro MacMurcho, provincial king of Leinster, whose sister was king Brian's queen. MacMurcho designing to visit king Brian residing then at Tara, went in company with his servants, who had the care of conveying his share of the timber, of which a large mast, in carrying through a rugged way, stuck betwixt two rocks, so as neither force of horse nor servants could disengage the same, till at length MacMurcho himself was obliged to dismount, and assist his servants: in which business a silver clasp which he wore in the breast of his purple mantle, was almost torn off;

which not regarding, he proceeded on his journey, and arriving at Tara, after some conference with the king, went to visit the queen his sister, who, noticing his mantle, asked, how it came to be so: he telling plainly the manner, the queen desired a sight of it, which so soon as she obtained, she threw it into a fire which was in the room; withal reproaching her brother, in most bitter terms, that he and his predecessors being provincial kings, he should so far degenerate, as to become in a manner a slave to her husband, whose ancestors never exceeded the character of noblemen. MacMurcho's choler, as well as ambition, sufficiently inflamed by these speeches, and some others which past betwixt him and prince Murcho king Brian's eldest son, left the court in a great rage, and posted to the Danish garrison in Dublin, using what arguments he could with them, to use all diligence in getting supplies of men from the king of Denmark, promising, upon their so doing, to join them with all the forces of Leinster. The Danes being now in desperate circumstances, gladly accepted of his proposals, and despatching a message to the Danish king importuned him earnestly, that he should not neglect to send a competent army to their assistance; for that then, or never, the affairs of Ireland were to be retrieved. The king of Denmark, being that Sueno who afterwards conquered England, glad of this opportunity, despatched an army of fifteen thousand men for Ireland, under command of Carolus Knutus his brother, and Andreas a Danish nobleman, with all the Danish pirates, and others in garrison in Ireland to join this army.

Which being done, and MacMurcho joining also with his Leinstermen, made up altogether an army of sixty thousand men. Of all which king Brian getting intelligence, levied an army of fifty thousand men to oppose these invaders, whom he found encamped in the plain of Clantarf, within two miles of Dublin. These two grand armies drawing near one another, neither did, nor could defer joining battle; which was begun, and maintained with equal valour and obstinacy for most part of the day, till towards evening, the left wing of the Irish army began to give ground, which brave prince Murcho observing, (king Brian his father, by reason of his great age, being left in the camp) caused a regiment left there for guard of the old king to be hastily brought out, with which he so vigorously charged the right wing of the enemy's army, commanded by Carolus, as wholly disordered the same, and caused the death of Carolus their general; at whose fall the Danes were so discouraged, that they wholly abandoned the field, flying towards Dublin, the Leinstrians bearing them company, whose perfidious king was also killed, as the just reward of his perfidious rebellion. Prince Murcho, with his own guards, too resolutely pursuing a part of the Danish army which went off in a body, was unfortunately killed, being a prince of the greatest expectation of any ever born in that country. The old king was also killed by a party of Danes, which accidentally fled near by the camp, and observing the same without any guards, entered it, as also the king's tent, and killing all they found therein, thereafter escaped.

There are reported to be slain in this fatal battle seventy thousand men, with all the persons of distinction on both sides. The circumstances of this memorable battle are not only related by the Irish, but also by Marianus Scotus, an unexceptionable historian. The Irish never fully retrieved the loss sustained in this battle; but in the end, by the means of Dermud MacMurcho, lineal successor of the former, the Irish nation was brought under subjection to the English in the year 1171.

After this fatal disaster, for want of a more sufficient, the Irish were necessitated to elect Maolseachluin for king, whom they had formerly deposed upon account of his incapacity to govern, and he behoved to be much more so at this time, in regard of his great age. This old king could do little good for repairing of the disordered state of his country, the remnant of the Danes having secured themselves in their garrisons, and being reinforced with new supplies from England, over which Sueno the Danish king, or as others say Canutus his son, had then the sovereignty. So that by these joint Danish forces, Ireland was reduced to its former state of servitude, till in some time an occasion was presented to the Irish king of doing service to his country.

Sueno, or Canutus, at this time king of England, and Denmark, his birth-day approaching, which all the Danish officers and soldiers in Ireland resolved to solemnize with great jollity, Turgesius, the Danish general, sent orders to all the Danish officers in Ireland to repair to Limerick, being their principal garrison and his residence,

to assist at the solemnity, fearing nothing that the Irish would or could do in such low circumstances. The general at the same time sent orders to the Irish nobility and gentry, to send to Limerick against the king's birth-day a thousand, or as others say, two thousand of the most beautiful of their daughters, to dally with the Danish officers at that festival. Of this the Irish king getting intelligence, resolved to send the desired number of the most clear complexioned youths could be found, clothed in women's habit, with long Irish skiens, or daggers, below their clothes, with orders that, so soon as they went to bed with their several paramours, being generally drunk on such occasions, they should stab them with these concealed daggers, and afterwards seize upon their guard-house, where their arms were laid by, and if matters succeeded, to give a signal by kindling a large fire upon the town wall; the Irish king with a small party being absconded in a wood near by, in expectation of the event. These Irish viragoes put their orders in execution to the utmost, and having given the concerted signal to the king, introduced him and his party to the town, who, without any mercy or resistance, killed all the Danes in the garrison, being destitute of sense, officers, and arms, reserving their general Turgesius for further punishment, which was inflicted upon him by drowning, which then, and as yet, is reputed the most ignominious death among the Irish. Most of all the other Danes throughout the kingdom were shortly after cut off. This massacre was a kind of parallel to another of that nature commit-

ted on the Danes in England some little time before this, by command of Ethelred, the English king. But, as that, so also this fell short of the success projected thereby. For no sooner was the Danish king of England informed of his countrymen's disaster, than he sent a powerful army into Ireland, which with the utmost rigour did prosecute all who had any hand in this late tragedy; so that most of them fell victims to the rage of their inveterate enemies, and those who did not were necessitated to abandon their native country. Among the number of these was

ANSELAN BUEY, or FAIR, OKYAN, son to Okyan, provincial king of the south part of Ulster, being one of the youths concerned in the above-mentioned massacre. These Okyans, with some others of the most ancient and reputed Irish surnames, are asserted to be of the Milesian stem or lineage; as are also the M'Donalds, and some others of our Scottish clans. These Milesians are reputed the progeny of the sons of Milesius, Gathelian, king of Gallicia in Spain, under whose conduct the Gathelians, or Scots, were first brought to, and planted in Ireland: so that all surnames in Ireland, or Scotland, descended of these, term themselves in their native language, Clanna Miley, or the Milesian progeny.

The time of this Anselan Okyan his leaving Ireland is generally computed to be in the year 1016, and twelfth year of king Malcolm II. his reign. He having landed with some attendants upon the northern coast of Argyllshire, near the Lennox, was, by a nobleman who had a considerable inte-

rest in those parts, and in the king's favour, introduced to the king, who took him into his service against the Danes; in which service, upon several occasions, particularly those two last battles fought by that king against Camus and Canutus, Okyan so signalized himself, that he obtained, in recompence of his service, several lands in the north part of Scotland, of which the lands of Pitwhonidy and Strathyre may, upon good grounds, be presumed a part; which in due place shall be more particularly observed.

Not only the Okyans of the south part, but also the Oneils of the north part, with all the other provincial kings, who enjoyed that title in the kingdom of Ireland, upon the English conquest of that kingdom, were not only obliged to quit their title of kingship, but also a great part of the territories enjoyed by them formerly, and to content themselves with the title of noblemen. The Oneils, formerly kings of the north part of Ulster, were after that conquest entitled earls of Tyrone; as were the Okyans, provincial kings of the south part, entitled lords of Dunseverin: with which family the lord M'Donald of the Isles, the laird of Lamond, and other principal families of the Highland clans, have been allied. The circumstances of the Okyans in the kingdom of Ireland are at present somewhat low: however, upon all occasions wherein they have business or converse with any of the name of Buchanan in that kingdom, they adhere closely to them upon account of the ancient relation. This Anselan Okyan, and some of his ancestors called by that name, are in old

charters termed Absalon; which difference is not material, in regard the writers of these charters (as it would seem,) were not acquainted with the orthography of ancient Irish names, and therefore expressed those which were better known, and could best be rendered in Latin. As is evident by a charter relating to the family of Macpharlan, wherein the progenitor of that surname is termed Bertholoneus; whereas, by the manner that name both write, and, in an ordinary way of speaking, express themselves, their progenitor's proper name behoved to have been Partholanus, or Partholan, a known ancient Irish name: as is also that of Anselan, ancestor of the M'Auslans, now Buchanan. So that the manner the clerks of these more ancient times expressed these names is not to be too much criticised nor relied upon.

There is a current tradition, or account, that this Anselan Okyan married one Denniestoun, heiress of a part, if not the whole, of the estate of Buchanan. But this account is not too generally adhered to, because that heiress of the name of Denniestoun, whom that Anselan married, is only reputed to have had some little part of the estate of Buchanan, with Drumquhuassils, and other lands on the water of Ainrick; and because the greater part of the estate of Buchanan was given to the same Anselan, by king Malcolm, with other lands, in reward of his service against the Danes. Though, indeed, the name of Denniestoun was a very ancient and honourable name in the Lennox, and continued to be so for divers ages; Hugh, lord of Denniestoun, being witness to a charter,

granted by Malcolm, the first of that name earl of Lennox, to John, laird of Luss, in the reign of king Alexander III. As also Robert, lord Denniestoun, is recorded to be sheriff of Dunbartounshire in the reign of king Robert I. The male issue of this family failed in the reign of king Robert III. The lord Denniestoun his two daughters being then married, the eldest to Cunninghame of Kilmaurs, and the second to Maxwel of Calderwood. Denniestoun of Colgrain is now the representative of that ancient family.

Anselan Okyan not only was recompenced for this service by king Malcolm with lands of considerable value, but also with very splendid arms; as the same king is recorded to have done to the ancestor of the Keiths, upon his killing of Camus the Danish general, and to others upon the like accounts. The arms assigned by that king to this Anselan, upon account of his descent, and more especially upon account of his heroic achievements, are, in a field Or, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules, holding in his paw a sabre, or crooked sword, proper. Which arms that surname retained always without the least addition or variation, until that addition obtained, upon a very honourable occasion, at the battle of Bauge, as in due place shall be observed. Notwithstanding of the entire affection of that family for several ages to, and dependence upon, the family of Lennox, yet the family of Buchanan did never, by way of concession or patronage, assume any part of that honourable family their armorial bearing; albeit it is evident that most other ordinary

names of this kingdom, at some time or occasion, assumed some one part or other of their patron or superior's armorial bearing in conjunction with their own. As, for instance, most surnames of Tiviotdale and Douglasdale assume a part of the Douglasses arms; and those of Murrayland the arms of the Murrays. So that few of an equal character with that of Buchanan reserved their arms so free of any addition or mixture as that surname did; which is no small argument, not only of the honour of the family, but also of the cause and reason of the first granting of these arms.

This Anselan Okyan, agreeable to the most ordinary and received genealogy of that surname, is reputed the progenitor of that surname, and first laird of Buchanan. His son and successor was called

JOHN, in whose favours (as I have been informed by gentlemen of very much integrity, who asserted, they had seen the same in custody of the late laird of Buchanan,) there was a charter, granted by Alcuin, (as it would seem,) first earl of Lennox, in the reign of king Malcolm III. of the Wester Mains of Buchanan. But the late laird of Buchanan, in the decline of his age and judgment, having conveyed his estate to strangers, by that means many of his ancient evidents, as not conductive to the purpose then in hand, are lost, and probably this charter among others. And, therefore, not having seen the same, I cannot positively determine thereanent; but will only place this John, agreeable to the traditional ac-

count delivered of him, as son and successor to the first Anselan, and consequently second laird of Buchanan. John, his son and successor, conform to the same manner of account, was called

ANSELAN, the second of that name, and third laird of Buchanan; whose son and successor is reported to be

WALTER, the first of that name, being fourth laird of Buchanan. This Walter's son and successor is reported to be

GIRALD, or, as others say, and that with most probability, BERNARD, being fifth laird of Buchanan. I have been credibly informed, that these three last mentioned lairds are recorded as witnesses in a mortification, granted by Aluin, earl of Lennox, of the lands of Cochnach, and others, to the old church of Kilpatrick, before the foundation of the monastery of Pasly; and I have seen myself a charter, by which that church, and lands mortified thereto, by the same Aluin, or an earl of that name his successor, are disponed to that abbacy, some little time after the foundation thereof. But, not having seen this other charter, in which these three lairds of Buchanan are inserted, I leave what concerns the same undetermined. Bernard, the last-mentioned laird of Buchanan, his son and successor was called

MACBEATH, being sixth laird of Buchanan. And this proper name was very ordinary to the Macauslans, before the assumption of the surname of Buchanan, as also to that sept of that surname, who, after assumption of Buchanan, have retained as yet the ancient denomination; as, for instance,

one Macbeath Macauslan, proprietor of that little interest called the barony of Macauslan, in the Lennox, who lived in the reign of king Robert III. and of whose uncommon stature and strength some accounts are retained to this very time. Macbeath, laird of Buchanan's age is evidenced, by the record after-specified, in favours of his son and successor.

ANSELAN, the third of that name, and seventh laird of Buchanan; who is ordinarily termed, in any record in which he is mentioned, "Anselan, son of Macbeath, and sennescallus, or chamberlain, to the earl of Lennox," in written mortifications in the chartulary of the abbacy of Pasly. This Anselan the third, with Gilbert and Methlen his two sons, are inserted witnesses in a charter, granted by Malduin, earl of Lennox, to Gilmore, son of Maoldonich, of the lands of Luss, in the beginning of the reign of king Alexander II. and they are designed in that charter the earl's clients, or vassals. This Anselan the third, besides Gilbert his eldest son and successor, who first assumed the surname of Buchanan, and Methlen his second son, ancestor of the M'Millans, had a third son called Colman, ancestor of the MacColmans, as shall be elsewhere more fully illustrated.

Anselan, third of that name, and seventh laird of Buchanan, having succeeded his father Macbeath, as already said, obtained from Malduin, earl of Lennox, a charter of an Island in Lochlomond, called Clareinch, dated in the year 1225, witnesses, Dougal, Gilchrist, and Amelyn, the earl's brethren. The same Anselan is also men-

tioned as witness in a charter, granted by the earl of Lennox; of the lands of Dalmanoch in mortification to the old church of Kilpatrick, by the designation of Absalon de Buchanan; Absalon being the same name with Anselan, as has been already observed. Though that of Clareinch is the most ancient can be found in this age, in relation to the family of Buchanan, nevertheless, it is very presumeable, there were other charters of greater antiquity belonging to that family, the first of them found upon record being of that repute, and charters having become customary so long before that time; as is partly instanced by the original charter of Luss, which was of an anterior date to this of Clareinch; yet the same Anselan, with two of his sons, Gilbert and Methlen, are designed the earl's clients, or vassals, therein. I have been also informed, by some of very good judgment, who went thorow the late Buchanan's evidences when entire, that they observed one little charter, being the original, of as great antiquity as any other in the kingdom, being reckoned to be granted in or about the reign of king David the I. which, with other of these evidences, having since gone thorow so many hands, may, upon very good grounds, be presumed to be neglected, or rather lost.

The isle of Clareinch was the slugorn, or call of war, proper to the family of Buchanan; such like being usual in all other families in these times, and for some following ages. So soon as this call was raised upon any alarm, the word Clareinch was sounded aloud from one to another, in a very little time, throughout the whole country: upon

hearing of which, all effective men belonging to the laird of Buchanan with the utmost diligence, repaired well armed to the ordinary place of rendezvous, which, when the lairds resided in that island, was upon a ground upon the shore opposite thereto. That which in these more modern times came in place of the slugorn was the fire-cross, being a little stick with a cross on one end of it, the extremities of which were burnt, or made black by fire. This cross, being once sett a-going, was carried through with such despatch, as in a few hours would alarm the people of a vast extent of ground.

GILBERT his son, being first of that name, and eight laird, and who first, by any thing can be collected, assumed the surname of Buchanan, was senescal, or chamberlain, to the earl of Lennox, which office his father Anselan enjoyed for some time. There is a charter of confirmation of that of Clareinch, and some other lands of Buchanan, granted in favour of this Gilbert, by king Alexander II. in the seventeenth year of his reign, and of our Lord 1231. * The same Gilbert is also inserted witness in a charter, granted by Malcolm, earl of Lennox, discharging the abbot and monks of Pasly of all service and duties prestable by them to the earl, for any lands mortified by him or his ancestors to that abbacy; which charter is dated at Renfrew, in year 1274. † To Gilbert succeeded his son

* Charter among Buchanan's old evidences.
† Chartulary of Dunbartonshire.

Sir Maurice, first of that name, and ninth laird of Buchanan, as is evident by a charter of confirmation, by Malcolm, earl of Lennox, in favours of Malcolme M'Edolf, son to Gilmichal M'Edolf of West Cameron, of the lands of Gartachorrans, dated at Bellach, in the year 1274. Witnesses to the said charter, Patrick Graham, Maurice of Buchanan, and Duncan, son of Aulay, knights. * Sir Maurice had three sons, Maurice his successor, Allan, who first married the heiress of Lenny, and John, always reputed ancestor of Buchanan of Auchneiven. He was succeeded by his son

Sir Maurice, second of that name, being tenth laird of Buchanan, as is clear by a charter, by Donald, earl of Lennox, to Maurice of Buchanan, son and heir to Sir Maurice of Buchanan, of the lands of Sallochy, with confirmation of the upper part of the carrucate of Buchanan. † This charter, as do many others granted in these times, wants a date, but, by the subsequent service, the time in which this Maurice lived is plainly made appear, he being one of the members of an inquest, by Malcolm, earl of Lennox, for serving of Mathild, Elizabeth, and Forveleth Lermonths, heirs-portioners to Thomas Lermonth of Cremennan, their father; the said inquest being at the kirk of Killearn, in the year 1320, and fourteenth year of the reign of king Robert I. ‡ The other members

* Chartulary of Dunbartonshire. † Charter among Dunbarton's old evidences. ‡ Extract of the above service from the Chartulary of Dunbartonshire.

thereof, besides Buchanan, were Duncan M'Edolf, Eugen Mackessan of Garchell, Malcolm Macmurdac, Kessan Innes of Finicktenent, Gillespic Macsawel of Ledlewan, John M'Gilchrist, Malise Macalbaine of West Finnick, Gilchrist Mackessan, Gilbert Macpaddo, Gilchrist Macgilbert, and Padmund Maceggo. All which gentlemen may, upon good grounds, be supposed to have been of most considerable interest and repute of any others in that country and age; yet in this there is not the least memory of any of them extant, except of Buchanan, a very remarkable instance of that vast alteration and decay surnames and other affairs frequently meet with in an ordinary tract of time.

As his father Sir Maurice had, so did also this gentleman adhere to the cause and interest of his prince and country, with much resolution, constancy and valour, to the evident hazard of his life and fortune, in imitation of his brave patron, that eminent patriot, Malcolm, earl of Lennox: who, with the lairds of Buchanan and Luss, the first the greatest nobleman, the others the best gentlemen, and of best repute and circumstances of any others in these parts of this kingdom, could never, by any artifice used by the kings of England, be induced to do any action prejudicial to their own honour, or the interest of their native country; as is demonstrable by their refusing to sign the ragman roll, which few others, or rather none, of any tolerable repute, or circumstances, either durst or did decline. There is a traditional account, that king Robert Bruce, after his defeat at Dalree, near Straithfillan, by Macdougal, lord of

Lorn, and his adherents, came all alone, on foot, along the north side of Lochlomond, (being the most rugged way of any other of this kingdom,) the day after that battle, to the castle of Buchanan; where, being joyfully received, and for some days entertained, he was secretly conveyed, by the earl of Lennox and Buchanan, to a place of safety. This report is the more probable, in regard there is a cave near the shore of Lochlomond, in Buchanan parish, termed the King's Cave; it being reported, that king Robert lay over night in that cave, in his journey towards Buchanan.

This Maurice lived to a considerable age, having obtained a charter of the lands of Buchanan from king David Bruce, in the beginning of his reign. He is also witness, in the same reign, in a charter, by Donald, earl of Lennox, to Finlay Campsy, of a part of the lands of Campsy, being designed in that charter, Maurice Macausland, dominus, or laird of Buchanan: whence it is pretty plain, that though the surname of Buchanan was assumed by Gilbert, this Maurice his grandfather, yet he and some of his successors seem to have used their ancient surname as their humours or inclinations led them. Maurice the second his successor was

Sir Walter, second also of that name, and eleventh laird. He seems to have been a very active gentleman, and made a very bright figure in his time, having made a very considerable addition to his old estate by the purchase of a great many other lands. There is a charter of confirma-

tion of some of his lands of Buchanan, granted in his favours by king Robert II. in which he is designed the king's consanguineus, or cousin, upon resignation of William Boyd of Auchmar, in the hands of Walter of Faslane, lord of Lennox, of the lands of Cameron, Drumfad, and divers other lands. * Sir Walter lived to a great age, having only one son,

JOHN, who married the heiress of Lenny, and died before his father, and was never entered to the estate of Buchanan. However, seeing this John had issue, which continued or carried on the line of the family, I shall mention him in order as his father Walter's successor. The clearest document can be found in relation to him is a charter, granted by king Robert III. in favours of John Buchanan and Janet Lenny his spouse, in life-rent, and to their heirs, in fee, of the baronry of Pitwhonydy, in the year 1363. † Whether the baronry of Pitwhonydy belonged formerly to the family of Lenny, or was part of that which belonged to the family of Buchanan, and was at this juncture given off by this John to that of Lenny, cannot be clearly determined, this being the most ancient charter relating to that, or any other lands in hands of the present Lenny. Nor is there so much as a tradition, that the family of Lenny had any lands before this marriage, except those possest by Keir and Lenny, and, as is thought, some part of these lands so designed in Mid-Lothian.

* Charter among Buchanan's old evidences.
† Ch. penes Buchanan de Lenny.

This John, twelfth laird of Buchanan, is the first mentioned in the genealogical tree of Buchanan, there being a part of that tree cut away, the actor as well as design of that action being unknown. John, laird of Buchanan and Lenny, had three sons, who came to age; the eldest, Sir Alexander, who killed the duke of Clarence at the battle of Bauge, was also himself afterwards killed at the battle of Vernoil, *anno* 1424, being never married. The second was Sir Walter, who succeeded to the estate of Buchanan; and the third, John, during his father's lifetime designed of Ballachondachy, and who did, after his father's death, succeed to the estate of Lenny, as the tree of Buchanan and some other evidents among those of Buchanan testify, as shall be in due place observed. I will elsewhere briefly recount some of the heroic achievements of that gallant gentleman, Sir Alexander, eldest son to John, laird of Buchanan, who acquired an addition to the armorial bearing, and a much greater to the honour of his family; and will endeavour to remove some little mistake our historians are in concerning his surname; and, meanwhile, proceed to the account of

Sir Walter, third of that name, and thirteenth laird of Buchanan, who, upon the death of Sir Alexander, succeeded to his father John, laird of Buchanan and Lenny. There is a charter, granted by Duncan, earl of Lennox, to Walter, laird of Buchanan, of the lands of Ledlewan; and he is witness to a charter, by the same earl, to John Hamilton, son and heir to John Hamilton of Bardowie, of the lands of Bathernock; most of his

evidents in relation to the estate of Buchanan being by some contingency or other lost. However, he is mentioned by the genealogical tree of the family, and is thereby asserted to be married to Isobel Stewart, daughter to Murdoch Stewart, duke of Albany, and governor of Scotland, and to Isobel, heiress of Lennox, his lady. This marriage is further made appear by a charter, in the hands of Buchanan of Drumikill, granted by Isobel, duchess of Albany and countess of Lennox, to one Donald Patrick, of a tenement of houses and land next adjacent to the north side of the churchyard of Drymen, dated in the year 1443. Witnesses being Andrew and Murdoch, the duchess's nephews, and Walter, laird of Buchanan, her son-in-law, knight, with divers others. Sir Walter had three sons, Patrick his successor, and Maurice, who was treasurer to lady Margaret, daughter to king James I. and dauphiness of France; having gone to that kingdom with her, there is no further account of him. His third son was Thomas, Carbeth's ancestor. Sir Walter had a daughter married to Gray of Foulis, the lord Gray his ancestor. To Sir Walter succeeded his son

Patrick, first of that name, and fourteenth laird of Buchanan. He acquired a part of Strathyre from David Oquhuanan, heritor thereof, in the year 1455, being the date of the charter thereof, confirmed by charter under the great seal in the year 1458, as is also a charter in his favour under the great seal, of his estate of Buchanan, dated in the year 1460. He purchased the lands of Easter Balleun; and, in the year 1414, re-

signed the lands of Drumfad and Kirkmicheal, in favour of Walter Buchanan his son and heir, which this Walter sold to the laird of Ardkindlass in the year 1513. Patrick, laird of Buchanan, and Andrew, laird of Lenny, made, in the year 1455, mutual tailzies of their estates in favour of one another, and the heirs of their own bodies, and past some of their brethren of either side; by which it is pretty clear, they have been no further removed in kindred than cousin-germans: so that the genealogy of both families, as already asserted, will hold good. He was married to one Galbraith, heiress of Killearn, Bamoir and Auchinreoch, and had with her two sons, Walter his successor, and Thomas, ancestor of Drumikill, and a daughter, Anabella, married to her cousin, James Stewart of Baldorrans, grandchild to Murdoch, duke of Albany. He had also an illegitimate son, Patrick, of whose issue there is no account.

The last-mentioned laird of Buchanan being married to an heiress of the name of Galbraith, and the circumstances of that name being now parallel to that of Buchanan, mutual sympathy, in a manner, obliges me to digress a little, in giving a brief account of that name.

The name of GALBRAITH is evidently an ancient Scottish surname, the denomination of that name importing in Irish, A brave stranger. The first I find upon record of this name was Gillespic, or Archibald Galbraith, being inserted witness in a charter, by Malduin, earl of Lennox, to Humphrey Kirkpatrick, of the lands of Colchoun, in the reign of king Alexander II. This Gillespic's

son was Maurice, as evinces a charter, in his favour, of Cartonbenach, now Bathernock, by the above Malduin, earl of Lennox, in the forecited reign. Maurice's son was Arthur, in whose favour there is a charter of Auchincloich and Bathernock, with power to seize and condemn malefactors, with this proviso, that those so condemned be hanged upon the earl's gallows. This charter is of date in the year 1238. Witnesses, David Lindesay, David Graham, William Douglas Malcolm, thane of Calentyr, Maurice Galbraith, Auleth, the earl's brother, and Maurice, parson of Drymen. Arthur's sons were William, ancestor of Culcruich, as testifies a charter, in his favour, by Malcolm, earl of Lennox, of these lands, and the ancestors of the Galbraiths of Greenock and Killearn: the heiress of the principal family of Bathernock having married a son of the lord Hamilton, the present Bardowie's ancestor; as did the heiress of Greenock a son of Shaw of Sauchy, Shaw of Greenock's ancestor; and the heiress of Killearn was married to the laird of Buchanan. The only remaining family of that name being Culcruich, Galbraith, laird thereof, fell into such bad circumstances, in king Charles I. his time, as obliged him to pass his estate and go to Ireland, where his posterity are in very good circumstances. Galbraith of Balgair is now representative, the family of Balgair's ancestor being a son of that family.

To Patrick, laird of Buchanan, succeeded his son

Walter, fourth of that name, and fifteenth laird of Buchanan, as is clear by the charter of

resignation, in his favour, by Patrick his father, in the year 1474. He married the lord Graham's daughter, whose mother was the earl of Angus's daughter. Of this marriage he had Patrick his successor, who, as is confidently asserted, was, with a great many of his name, killed at the battle of Flowdon, in the year 1513; and John of Auchmar, afterwards Arnpryor and Gartartan, and two daughters, one of them married to the laird of Lamond, the other to the laird of Ardkinglass.

PATRICK, the second of that name, albeit his father outlived him many years, yet, as in the tree of the family, so also in this place, he may be accounted the sixteenth laird. He was married to the earl of Argyll his daughter, her mother being the earl of Huntley's daughter. He had of this marriage two sons and two daughters, that came to age. His eldest son was George his successor, his second, Walter, Spittle's ancestor. His two daughters, were married to the lairds of Auchinbreck and Calder. He had also an illegitimate son called Robert. Patrick's successor was

GEORGE, first of that name, and seventeenth laird of Buchanan, as is clear by charter, under the great seal, in his favour, of the lands of Buchanan, in the year 1530. He purchased the lands of Duchray and others, as evinces charter thereof, *anno* 1532. He was made sheriff-principal of Dunbartonshire, *anno* 1561. He was first married to Margaret Edmonstone, daughter to the laird of Duntreath, her mother being Shaw of Sauchy's daughter. He had of this marriage John his successor. He married for his second lady, Janet Cun-

ninghame, daughter to Cunninghame of Craigens, being first married to the laird of Houstoun. He had with his second lady, William, ancestor of Buchanan of Auchmar, in whose favour his father grants charter of the thirteen merk land of Straithyre, in the year 1556. He had also of this marriage one daughter, Margaret, first married to Cunninghame of Robertland, secondly, to Stirling of Glorat, and, lastly, to Douglas of Maines. George was succeeded by

JOHN, second of that name, and eighteenth laird of Buchanan. His father grants charter in his favour, in the year 1552. He died before his father, and was twice married, first, to the lord Levingstone's daughter, her mother being daughter to the earl of Morton, which marriage was consummated by virtue of a dispensation, in regard of propinquity of blood. There was of this marriage one son, George, who came to age. He married, secondly, a daughter of one Chisholm, brother to the bishop of Dumblane, and had with her one daughter, married to Mr. Thomas Buchanan of Ibert, lord privy-seal. To John succeeded his son

SIR GEORGE, second of that name, and nineteenth laird of Buchanan, as is clear by charter, in his favour, by king Henry and queen Mary, of the lands of Buchanan, isles of Clareinch and Kepinch, with bell and alms of St. Kessog, dated in the year 1564. This Sir George was married to Mary Graham, daughter to the earl of Monteith, her mother being the lord Seatoun's daughter. Of this marriage he had one son, Sir John,

and two daughters, Helen, married to Alexander Colchoun of Luss, and Susanna, first married to John MacFarlan of Arrochar, secondly, to Campbell of Craignish. Sir George's successor was

Sir John, third of that name, and twentieth laird of Buchanan, as appears by charter, in his favour, by king James VI. of the lands of Buchanan, in the year 1618. This Sir John mortified six thousand pounds Scots to the university of Edinburgh, for maintaining three bursers at the study of theology there; and an equal sum to the former to the university of St. Andrews, for maintaining, upon the interest thereof, three bursers at the study of philosophy there: and constituted the magistrates of Edinburgh managers, or patrons, of both mortifications, as the one double of the contract betwixt the said Sir John and the magistrates of Edinburgh, in the hands of the duke of Montrose, among the late Buchanan's evidents, does testify. Sir John married Anabella Areskin, daughter to Adam Commendator, or lord Cambuskenneth, being son to the master of Mar, her mother, Drummond of Carnock's daughter. He had with her one son, George his successor, and a daughter, married to Campbell of Rahein. Sir John's successor was

Sir George, third of that name, and one and twentieth laird of Buchanan. He married Elizabeth Preston, daughter to Preston of Craigmillar, her mother being Hay of Pheinzie's daughter. Sir George, being colonel of Stirlingshire regiment, lost a great many of his regiment and kinsmen at the fatal conflict of Ennerkeithing, in which being

taken prisoner, he died in that state, in the latter part of the year 1651, having left one son, John his sucessor, and three daughters, Helen, married to Sir John Rollo of Bannockburn; Agnes, married to Stewart of Rossyth; and Jean to Lecky of that Ilk.

JOHN, third of that name, the two and twentieth, and last laird of Buchanan, succeeded to his father Sir George. He was first married to Mary Areskin, daughter to Henry, lord Cardross, her mother being Ballanden, of Broughton's daughter, and sister to the first lord Ballanden. With her he had one daughter Elizabeth, married to James Stewart of Ardvorlich. He secondly married Jean Pringle, daughter to Mr. Andrew Pringle a minister. With her he had one daughter, Janet, married to Henry Buchanan of Lenny. John, last laird, died in December 1682.

Having thus given a genealogical account of the family of Buchanan, it may not be improper to enquire how their estate came to be disposed of upon the extinction of the family. Not to go any further back, it is fit to know, that Sir John Buchanan, grand-father to the last laird, by his frequent travels into foreign nations and other extravagancies, had involved his estate in such an immense debt, that his grandson found it inconvenient for him to enter as heir, till he had caused David, lord Cardross, his brother-in-law, to compound with the most preferable of his creditors, and upon that composition to apprize the estate; upon which acquisition of Cardross, he entered upon the estate as singular successor; nor did he seek for any new right

during the life of the lady Mary Areskin, his first lady, who at her death left only one daughter. Some few years after which, he entertained some thoughts of a second marriage, and for that purpose addressed himself to a daughter of Sir John Colchoun of Luss; between which family and that of Buchanan, there had been such frequent alliances, and communication of mutual good offices, as rendered the proposal very agreeable to Sir John. The only obstruction that offered, sprung from the mutual tailzies betwixt the families of Buchanan and Auchmar, whereby both interests were settled upon heirs-male. Buchanan, in order to remove this difficulty, went to London and obtained a new charter of his estate, upon the right already mentioned, acquired by him from the lord Cardross; and further, procured an additional clause in it, impowering him to dispone his estate to heirs whatsoever, and to whom he pleased. By this means, Buchanan of Auchmar, nearest heir-male, and next in succession by the tailzie, was wholly excluded, and his pretensions cut off. Buchanan's design however, was wholly defeated; the young lady having, much against his expectation, married the laird of Keir before his return. This disappointment had such effects upon his high spirit, as in a little time threw him in a palsy, and prejudiced him in his judgment, in which unhappy circumstance he continued till his death. A little time before this misfortune befell him, John Buchanan of Arnpryor, then a widower, having come into Buchanan's family, gained such an influence over him, as to be entrusted with the whole management of

his affairs. Arnpryor was not wanting to improve such an opportunity for the promoting his own interest, and found means to prevail on the laird to agree to a match between his daughter and Arnpryor's son, then a student of the civil law, that by this means the estate might be kept in the name, failing other heirs of Buchanan. The proposal would have certainly taken place, had not the young lady interposed, by refusing her consent; upon which, her father, then very much declined in judgment, conceived so much displeasure against her, as to make a disposition of his estate in favour of Arnpryor, and in prejudice of her right. However, keeping this paper in his own custody, and happening to go to the bath for recovery of his health, he, in his return, fell in love with Mrs. Jean Pringle, and married her, and, upon her arrival at Buchanan, caused the disposition in favour of Arnpryor to be cancelled, which gave rise to an inveterate animosity, which continued ever after, between him and Arnpryor.

In a little time after this marriage, Buchanan, for reasons we cannot account for, disponed his estate to an old comrade of his, major George Grant, governor of Dunbarton castle, with this provision, that the major should marry his eldest daughter, and assume the name and arms of Buchanan; reserving his own life-rent and his lady's jointure, and settling the estate so as to return to Buchanan's heirs-male, and, failing heirs of Grant's own body, to Buchanan's heirs whatsoever. Agreeable to this disposition, Grant made his addresses to the young lady, but was rejected by her with

the utmost indignation. The late lady Buchanan has been blamed, as promoting this disposition in favour of Grant; but I have received such information, from people well versed in Buchanan's affairs, as fully justifies her. Sometime after this, there was a project formed by Buchanan and Grant, of selling so much of the Highland lands of the estate of Buchanan as might, together with the price of some woods lately sold, and Buchanan's other moveables, clear the whole debts affecting the lower barony, or remainder of that estate. These Highland lands, accordingly, were sold to the marquis of Montrose, who, for security of that part sold to him, got infeftment of real warrandice upon the lower barony. This bargain being completed, it was suggested to the marquis, that he could not be fully secured in those lands lately purchased by him, till well informed of the extent of Buchanan's debts, and other circumstances of his affairs. For this purpose, Arnpryor, who of all others best knew those affairs, was prevailed upon to make a discovery of them to the marquis, having, for his service therein, and his assistance in evicting the whole estate, obtained the fourth part thereof, burdened with a proportionable part of the debts. Thus, there having been a debt due by Buchanan to Sir James Dick of Priestfield, for which all legal diligence was used, insomuch that the laird, with Drumikill, and some other cautioners, were denounced, and continued more than a year unrelaxed; and Arnpryor, while manager for Buchanan, having been ordered to clear this debt, it was accordingly paid, and dis-

charge and relaxation procured for the cautioners, but the principal, unhappily, was left unrelaxed. This secret once divulged, there was a gift obtained of Buchanan's life-rent and moveable escheat; by which, his whole moveables being exhausted, there was room left for wresting the estate out of his hands, by procuring rights to those debts for payment whereof these moveables were allotted. This project was the effectual means of ruining that estate; for divers adjudications being led in Arnpryor's name, then principal manager for my lord marquis, (the marquis himself, as it seems, being passive in it,) Buchanan's eldest daughter found herself obliged to resign her pretensions, for a sum of money, in favour of his lordship; and major Grant having a little before his death given up all Buchanan's evidences, both the rights and the fortune became to be entirely transferred.

This estate, as all others, was sometimes increased, or diminished, as it fell into the hands of good or bad managers. The lairds of Buchanan had, besides their old estate, several lands in the parishes of Killearn, Strablane, and others in the Lennox. The most flourishing condition it has been in, for divers ages, was upon the last laird's accession to it. For his old estate, which, together with Strathyre, Brachern, and some superiorities, was worth thirteen thousand merks of yearly rent, most of the same arising from steelbow horses, cows, corn, red land, besides casualties, and woods, computed in this age to be worth two thousand pounds sterling each cutting. Besides this, he had the whole estate of Badindalloch, amounting

to six thousand merks per annum, which was acquired by Sir John, the late laird's grandfather, for money he was engaged in for Cunninghame of Glengarnock, proprietor thereof; as also he had the estate of Craigmillar in Mid-Lothian, being ten thousand merks per annum, acquired, by his father. So that from these three estates the family had near thirty thousand merks of yearly rent. But Buchanan having sold Badindalloch and Craigmillar when in health, and that of Buchanan going off in the manner we have already mentioned, after having continued six hundred and sixty-five years in that name, and in an uninterrupted succession of twenty-two lairds; by this mismanagement, and want of proper advice from his friends, this flourishing fortune has been destroyed, and the family itself extinguished.

The Paternal Arms of the Family of Buchanan.

Or, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules, within a double tressure, flowered and counterflowered with flower-de-luces of the second. Crest, a hand coupee holding up a ducal cap, or duke's coronet, proper, with two laurel branches wreathed surrounding the crest, disposed orleways proper; supported by two falcons garnished Or. Ancient motto above the crest, *Audaces Juvo.* Modern motto in compartment, *Clarior Hinc Honos.*

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

FAMILY OF AUCHMAR.

IN giving an exact account of these cadets, now become families, which came immediately off that of Buchanan, and retain that surname, I shall begin with that family last came off the principal one, and consequently next to the same, and shall mention each of the rest in order, according to the times of their several descents off the chief family. In prosecution of this method, I shall begin with the family of AUCHMAR, which, by the original charter thereof, as also by the genealogical account, or tree, of the family of Buchanan, is not only clearly evinced to be descended of a son of the laird of Buchanan, but also to be the latest cadet of that family. Though the principal family continued in being for the space of one hundred and thirty-five years after this family came off the same, nevertheless, the few second sons, or cadets, which descended of Buchanan since that of Auchmar

came off, left no male issue; so that by this means Auchmar continued to be the latest cadet of that ancient family.

The interest of Auchmar was for some time tanistrie, or appennage lands, being always given off to a second son of the family of Buchanan for patrimony, or rather aliment during life, and at his death returning to the family of Buchanan. These lands were in some time after disponed irreversibly to the ancestor of the present family of Auchmar, and his heirs. The first of which was WILLIAM BUCHANAN, first son, of the second marriage, to George Buchanan of that ilk, and Janet Cunninghame, daughter to Cunninghame (for any thing I can find), first laird of Craigens, who was son to the earl of Glencairn. This lady was first married to Patrick, laird of Houston, director of the chancery in the reign of king James V. Houston, with divers other good and loyal patriots, having joined that brave nobleman, John, earl of Lennox, in order to liberate their sovereign from the restraint put upon him by the earls of Arran and Angus, with their associates; and Lennox having engaged with the earl of Arran's army at Linlithgow, or Evanbridge, was there slain, together with Houston, and a great many others of his party. Buchanan, after Houston's death, having married his relict, granted charter, in favour of William Buchanan, his first son of this second marriage, and his heirs, of the lands of Auchmar, dated the 3d of January, 1547 years. Nor did Buchanan's indulgence and liberality to this his son stop here, but he did also, in the year 1556, grant charter, in his favour, of the

thirteen merk land of Straithyre, with real warrandice for the same in the Easter Mains of Buchanan, being the best portion any second son of that family had got of a long time, or rather at any time before that. After what manner this family lost possession of the lands of Straithyre is not very evident; the most common account, however, of that event is this, that in the time of the civil wars in the reign of king Charles I., particularly in the year 1645, the lands of Buchanan being at that time very sadly harrassed, and most of the houses burnt, George Buchanan of Auchmar lost upon that occasion the evidents of Straithyre, and, as is also apprehended, the double, lodged in that family's hands, of the mutual tailzie betwixt them and the family of Buchanan. After which, Sir John, laird of Buchanan, did, in an unjust and oppressive manner, dispossess the said George of those lands, and would have done the same to him in relation to the lands of Auchmar also, had not the evidence thereof been at that time providentially in the laird of Craigen's custody, which was the only means of their preservation. This, with some other hard usage given by Sir John, created such animosity betwixt these two families as could scarcely be fully extinguished: the said Sir John being accounted the worst, if not the only bad one, of all the lairds of Buchanan, and the greatest oppressor of his name and neighbours; whereas, the other lairds, generally taken, are reported to have been the most discreet neighbourly gentlemen of any in these parts of this kingdom.

William, the first of Auchmar, was married

to Elizabeth Hamilton, daughter to the laird of Inchmachan, (or as I find him sometimes designed, of Eglismachan,) this family having become extinct in the reign of king Charles II. any little remains of that interest fell into Hamilton of Aitkenhead, as nearest heir to Hamilton of Inchmachan. Of this marriage betwixt Auchmar and Inchmachan's daughter, three sons and two daughters came to maturity. The eldest of the sons was Patrick, the second George, and the third Mr. William. Margaret the eldest daughter was married to Cunninghame of Blairwhoish; the second to James Colchoun, merchant in Glasgow.

Patrick the eldest son succeeded to his father William in the lands of Auchmar and Straithyre. He married Helen Buchanan, heiress of Ibert, daughter to Mr. Thomas Buchanan of Ibert, nephew to the great Mr. George Buchanan, which Thomas became lord privy seal, by resignation of that office in his favour by Mr. George his uncle. Mr. Thomas's wife was a daughter of John, laird of Buchanan. Patrick above-mentioned died within a few years of his marriage, his children having not long survived him; so that his interest devolved to George his second brother, as is evident by precept of *Clare Constat*, and charter thereupon, in his favour, by John, laird of Buchanan, of the lands of Auchmar, dated in the year 1606.

This George, in his eldest brother's lifetime, married Janet Stewart, daughter to Andrew Stewart, who had a beneficial tack (esteemed in these

days equivalent to heritage,) of the lands of Blairgarie, and some other lands, from the earl of Murray, in Straithgartney, and the parish of Callender. He was also the earl's baillie in those parts. That family is now represented by Alexander Stewart of Gartnafuaroe in Balquhidder parish; and is, with the families of Ardvorlich and Glenbucky, (from which three are sprung most of the Stewarts in the southern parts of Perthshire,) lineally descended of James Beg, or little James, son to James Stewart, youngest son to Murdoch, duke of Albany, and governor of Scotland. James Beg was married to Annabella Buchanan, daughter to Patrick, laird of Buchanan, as testifies a charter, in his and the said Annabella's favour, of the lands of Baldorrans in Stirlingshire, in the reign of king James II. I find also this James witness in a charter, by Isobel, duchess of Albany and countess of Lennox, of a tenement of land in Drymen, in the year 1443, being designed in that charter the duchess's nephew. James's successor was Walter Stewart of Baldorrans, as is clear by charter, in his favour, by Janet Oquhuanan, of a wadset-right the said Janet had upon a part of the lands of Straithyre, of date in the year 1528. From three sons of this Walter, or, according to their own traditional account, from a son of Walter, called William, are descended the three families above-mentioned.

George Buchanan of Auchmar had seven sons; Patrick his successor, John, Andrew, Mr. Maurice, William, Robert, and George. He

had also two daughters; the eldest married to Colchoun of Camstrodan, the second to captain Pettigroe.

To George succeeded his eldest son PATRICK, as is clear by charter, in his favour, of the lands of Auchmar, dated in the year 1662. He married Agnes Buchanan, daughter to William Buchanan of Ross. He had by her one son, John, who had issue, and five daughters; Janet, married to Buchanan of Cameron, Mary to Thomas Anderson, Elizabeth to Walter M'Pharlan, Agnes to Galbraith of Armfinlay, and Jean to Nairn of Baturich. He had also an illegitimate son, John, who went to Ireland.

To Patrick Buchanan of Auchmar succeeded his son JOHN. He married Anna Graham, daughter to John Graham of Duchray. He had by her two sons and four daughters. The eldest of these daughters was married to Robert Graham of Glenny. The second daughter was first married to George Buchanan, son to Arthur Buchanan of Auchlessy, and afterwards to Andrew Stewart of town-head of Drymen. The third daughter was married to Robert Stewart of Cailliemore. The fourth to George M'Pharlan, merchant.

John Buchanan of Auchmar was succeeded by WILLIAM his son. He married Jean Buchanan, daughter to John Buchanan of Carbeth. Colin, second son to the said John, married Anna Hamilton, daughter to James Hamilton of Aitkenhead.

The first cadet of the family of Auchmar, was Mr. William Buchanan, third son to William the first of Auchmar. This Mr. William went to Ire-

land, and became manager or factor, for the estate of the family of Hamilton, then lords of Clandeboys, and afterwards earls of Clanbrazil, in the county of Down, which family is now extinct. He married in that country, and had one son, major William Buchanan, a very brave gentleman, who was major to George, laird of Buchanan's regiment, at the fatal conflict betwixt the Scots and English at Ennerkeithing. The major, upon defeat of the Scotish army, being well mounted, made his way through a party of English horsemen, and though pursued for some miles, came off safe, having killed diverse of the pursuers. He went afterwards to Ireland, and purchased an estate there, called Scrabohill, near Newtoun Clandeboys, in the County of Down. He had two sons, the eldest continued in Ireland, and the younger went abroad. He had also two daughters, both married in that country.

William of Auchmar, had an illegitimate son, called George, whose son John, had a wedset upon the lands of Blairluick, in Kilmaronock parish, which having sold, he went to Ireland, where diverse of his progeny reside near the village called St. Johnstoun, in the county of Derry; from whence, one of them having come to the paroch of Bonneil, had two sons, Archibald at present in Bonneil, who hath three sons, George, a trader at sea; William, a residenter in London; and James, residing near Glasgow. Another, Archibald, being also descended of the said George, resides in Inverary, in Argyllshire.

The second cadet of the family of Auchmar, was

Mr. Maurice Buchanan, fourth son to George Buchanan of Auchmar. He was a preacher in the county of Tyrone, and had one son, James, who had only one son, captain Maurice, who resides near Dublin.

George of Auchmar's fifth son was William, who was a captain in the Swedish service in Germany. He was, upon account of his valour, conduct, and other laudable qualities, very much esteemed; having signalized himself upon diverse occasions, particularly in vanquishing an Italian, who in most countries of Europe, had acquired very much fame by his martial achievements, and dexterity always in performing divers feats of arms, having carried the prize in all places he went to, till at last he was overcome by this captain William, no less to his honour, than to the Italian's disgrace. Upon account of this action, he obtained a major's commission, but was within few days thereafter, killed in the said service. He was married to Anna Pennel, an English woman. His children and their posterity have continued in Germany.

George of Auchmar's seventh and youngest son, George, had one son, William, who married at London, having left a son, James, who is a merchant in that city. John, Andrew and Robert, George's other sons, their issue is wholly extinct.

Patrick Buchanan of Auchmar, besides John his successor, had an illegitimate son called also John, who went to Ireland. He had two sons, Patrick, who went to the West Indies, and is in very good circumstances in that country; and John, who resides near Newtoun-stewart, in the county of Tyrone, and hath three sons. He had also an illegi

timate son, Samuel, who resides in Laggan of Tyreonnel.

The last cadet of Auchmar, is Colin Buchanan, brother to the present William Buchanan of Auchmar, who for armorial bearing, carries the paternal arms of the family of Buchanan, as already blazoned, without any manner of distinction.

I am hopeful by clear and authentic documents, to have demonstrated this family, last mentioned, to be the latest in descent from that of Buchanan, notwithstanding that Mr. Nisbet, in his late book of heraldry and genealogy, hath asserted the contrary, by giving it to a certain gentleman, who is among the remotest of the cadets of the family of Buchanan. I am surprised he should have fallen into such a mistake, especially after having had much better information conveyed to his hands, by the author of these papers. But I am confident, his accounts of the matter, will not make the least impression an any judicious reader, that shall well weigh what he has only barely asserted, and compare it with the authentic account I have given.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

FAMILY OF SPITTEL.

THE case of the family of SPITTEL, seems to be much the same, with that of diverse other families of that name, they having been in possession of several lands, at some little time after they came off the family of Buchanan, a great part of which lands are since gone from it, as from other families, by ways and means not easy to be discovered at this distance of time.

The ancestor of the present family of Spittel, and who first obtained these lands, was Walter Buchanan, son to Patrick, the second of that name, laird of Buchanan. This Walter, and his successor John, their charters of these lands, by bad keeping in turbulent times, are so effaced, and the writing thereof so obliterated, as renders the same in a great measure illegible. However, it is very presumeable, that the laird of Buchanan gave the lands of Spittel, to his son, Walter, for patrimony, when he

came off the family, notwithstanding of the above inconveniency, that the two first, or original charters of that family labour under. But for further proof of this family's descent off Buchanan, there being in divers of our kings' reigns records of justiciary, by which all chiefs of clans, were obliged for the good and peaceable behaviour of their name, or clan, it is remarkable that in one of these records, in the latter part of king James V. his reign, Walter Buchanan of Spittel, is designed brother-german to George Buchanan of that ilk: also in a seasin by the same laird of the lands of Auchmar, *anno* 1547. John Buchanan, son and heir to the deceased Walter Buchanan of Spittel, the laird's brother, is one of the witnesses. So that George, laird of Buchanan, being well known to have been eldest son, and successor to Patrick, laird of Buchanan; and by these two documents, Walter Buchanan of Spittel, being designed brother to the said George, the descent of this family is cleared beyond all controversy, however little their original writings conduce to that purpose. Walter Buchanan, first of Spittel, was married to Isabel Cuningham, asserted to have been daughter to the earl of Glencairn. There is a charter by Andrew Cunninghame of Blairwhoish, with consent of Walter Stirling of Ballagan his curator, in favour of Walter Buchanan of Spittel, and Isabel Cuningham his spouse, of the lands of Blairvocky, dated in the year 1535. There is also another charter in favour of the same Walter, by Alexander, Master of Glencairn, of the lands of Arrochymore, dated in the year 1530. Which lands, seem to be given in por-

tion to him with Glencairn's daughter. Walter left one son, John, his successor, and a daughter, married to Walter Buchanan of Drumikill.

He was succeeded by his son John, who married Elizabeth Cuningham, daughter to Cuningham, laird of Drumquhuassle, as is evident by an heritable right, by Alexander, earl of Glencairn, to Elizabeth Cuningham, spouse to John Buchanan of Spittel, in liferent, and Edward Buchanan her son, in fee of the lands of Merkinch, dated in the year 1553.

EDWARD, first of that name, succeeded to his father John. He married Christian Galbraith, daughter to the laird of Culcruich, as testifies a charter in his and his said spouse's favour, under the privy seal, dated in the year 1555. He had two sons, Robert his successor, and George.

To Edward of Spittel succeeded his son ROBERT. He married Lawson of Boghal's daughter, and had by her two sons, Walter his successor, and Andrew. There is a charter under the privy seal in favour of this Robert, in the latter part of queen Mary's reign.

To Robert succeeded his son WALTER. He married Galbraith of Balgair's daughter, and had with her two sons that came to maturity, Edward and Walter.

EDWARD, second of that name, succeeded to Walter his father. He was first married to Edmonstoun of Balleun's daughter. With her he had James, his successor, and John, a captain in George, laird of Buchanan's regiment, who was killed at the fatal conflict betwixt the Scots and English at En-

nerkithing. He was secondly married to John Buchanan of Ross's daughter, and had with her Robert Buchanan, baker in Glasgow, and Edward, who was a man of great learning, and died while at the study of divinity in the college of Edinburgh, and one daughter married to Cuningham of Trinbeg.

JAMES succeeded to his father Edward. He married a daughter of John Buchanan of Cashlie, and had with her five sons, Edward, captain John, captain Archibald, Andrew and Walter.

To James succeeded EDWARD third of that name. He married Christian Mitchel, daughter to Mr. Thomas Mitchel, minister of Kilmaronock, and had with her two sons, John and Thomas, and two daughters.

JOHN, eldest son to Edward Buchanan of Spittel, married Margaret Muirhead, daughter to Muirhead of Rashiehill, relict of Mr. Robert Buchanan of Arnpryor. Thomas his brother, was married to Napeir of Ballachairn's daughter.

The first cadet of Spittel's family, was GEORGE, second son to Edward, first of that name, and third of Spittel. George had one son, William, who obtained a beneficial tack of Arrachybeg in Buchanan parish. William had also one son, Donald, who had four sons, William, Duncan, Robert and Walter. Of these William had one son, Donald, lately in Arrachybeg, who left issue. Duncan had one son, John, who has also one son, Duncan, in the foot-guards. Robert was killed in the year 1645, and had only one daughter, married to James M'Gown in Catter. Walter, who mostly resided

in Casbill in Buchanan parish, had two sons, John and William, both whereof have male issue. The said Donald had another son, called Walter, maltman in Glasgow, father to Margaret Buchanan, who married James Couper, merchant in Port-Glasgow, whose only daughter, Agnes, is married to Andrew Crawford, merchant in Port-Glasgow. The progeny of the above-mentioned George, are ordinarily termed Buchanans of Arachybeg, or Donald Macwilliam's race.

The second cadet of the family of Spittel, was ANDREW, son to Robert Buchanan of Spittel. This Andrew seems to have been a man of education, and was factor to part of the earl of Mar's estate for some time. He bought Blairvocky from Spittel, and having never married, disponed that interest to Walter Buchanan his nephew, ancestor to the Buchanans of Blairvocky, as shall be hereafter observed. Andrew had one illegitimate son, Robert, who resided for the most part in Arrachymore, in Buchanan parish. Robert had four sons, Andrew, James, Robert and Alexander. Andrew had no male issue. Robert had one son, who left no issue. James had one son, Andrew, lately in Auchingyle, in Buchanan Parish, who had four sons; two of these resided in Buchanan parish, one in the parish of Luss, and another in that of Kilmaronock. Alexander had two sons, John in the parish of Killearn, and Andrew, merchant-tailor in Glasgow, father to James Buchanan, merchant in the Trongate, there.

The third cadet of the family of Spittel, was WALTER, the first of Blairvocky, second son to

Walter Buchanan of Spittel. There is a contract of wedset, for the sum of one thousand merks Scots, upon the lands of Sallochy, by John Buchanan of that ilk, in favour of this Walter, dated in the year 1618. Walter of Blairvocky had one son, Alexander, who had four sons, Walter, Alexander, William, and George. Walter's progeny is extinct. Alexander left only one daughter. George, the youngest, went abroad. William, the third brother, having obtained the interest of Blairvocky, sold the same to John Buchanan, younger of Spittel. William, the last of Blairvocky, resided mostly in Ireland. He had four sons, Alexander, William, Walter, and Henry. Alexander the eldest resides in Glendermon, within two miles of Derry, being in very good repute and circumstances. William, Walter and Henry, reside near Omagh in the county of Tyrone, and kingdom of Ireland.

The fourth cadet of Spittel's family was ROBERT BUCHANAN, late deacon of the bakers of Glasgow, being one of the sons of the second marriage of Edward Buchanan, second of that name, of Spittel, and Buchanan of Ross's daughter. His son Robert Buchanan, writer in Glasgow, married Buchanan of Drumhead's daughter. He had also two daughters, one married to Mr. Neil Snodgrass, writer in Paisly, who left one son, John Snodgrass, their former children being dead; she was afterwards married to Alexander Wallace, writer in Paisly: the other was married to John Buchanan, elder, merchant in Glasgow.

The next cadets of this family are the pre-

sent Edward Buchanan of Spittel's brethren. The first of these, captain John, was captain in the Dutch and English service, during the whole time of the wars betwixt the French, English and Dutch, with their other confederates, from the year 1690, till the last peace; and was also an officer in the service of the Dutch, and some other states of Europe, a good many years before the commencement of these wars. The next brother was captain Archibald, who for divers years before his death was one of the captains of the king's horseguards, being a gentleman inferior to none of his age and station in all valuable qualities. Andrew and Walter, the other two brethren, died both unmarried.

The last cadet of this family is Thomas Buchanan, chirurgeon in Glasgow, second son to Edward Buchanan, elder of Spittel.

This family came off Buchanan immediately before that of Auchmar, Walter of Spittel being uncle to William the first of Auchmar.

It has appeared a little surprising to some, that the family of Buchanan should have run through twenty-two generations in so short a time as six hundred and ninety-five years; and yet here we see in this family of Spittel no less than ten generations in the space of about two hundred and twenty-three years, which is a great deal more in proportion than in the former case; and I doubt not but frequent observations of this nature might be made in many other families.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

OLD FAMILY OF ARNPRYOR.

THIS of ARNPRYOR having been for a considerable track of time one of the most reputed families of the name of Buchanan, both upon account of the estate possest by them, being pretty considerable, as also in regard these gentlemen themselves were, for the most part, among the best accomplished of that name. Nevertheless, since the middle of the last age, or some little time before, this family is so much decayed, that there can be very little said concerning the same, more than to give some account of what it hath been, and of some few cadets now extant thereof, and who represent the same. The oldest writes of this family being either carried off when the last laird of Arnpryor went to Ireland, or some other way lost, the manner of the descent thereof off the family of Buchanan cannot be so clearly illustrated as otherwise it might. The most clear document for that

purpose is the genealogical tree of the family of Buchanan, which positively asserts John Buchanan, first of Arnpryor, to have been second son to Walter, fourth of that name, laird of Buchanan, and of the lord Graham's daughter: which tree being composed, *anno* 1600, the composers thereof might have lived in or near the latter part of this gentleman's lifetime, so that the account given thereby may fully satisfy all such as are not too much addicted to criticism or needless scrupulosity. The portion this gentleman obtained from his father, the laird of Buchanan, was the lands of Auchmar, which at his death returned to the family of Buchanan, as the custom was of appenage, or tanistry lands. The manner of his obtaining of the lands of Arnpryor was pretty singular, being this.

In the reign of king James IV., and for divers ages before, the Meinzieses were proprietors of a great part of the parish of Kippen, and some of the parish of Killearn, though scarce any memory of that name remains in either of those parishes in this age. A gentleman of that name being laird of Arnpryor, at the above-mentioned juncture, who had no children of his own, nor any of his name in these parts, that could pretend any relation to him, was for some time at variance with one Forrester of Carden, a very toping gentleman of Arnpryor's neighbourhood, who, upon account of his neighbour Arnpryor's circumstances, sent a menacing kind of message to him either to dispone his estate in his favour voluntarily, otherwise he would dispossess him of it by force. Arnpryor

not being of power to oppose Carden, and being loath to give his estate by compulsion to his enemy, judged it the more proper, as well as honourable method, to dispone his estate to some other gentleman who would counterbalance Carden, and would maintain the rightful owner in possession thereof during his life. In this exigency he had recourse to the laird of Buchanan, offering to dispone his estate to one of Buchanan's sons, if he would defend him from any violence offered by Carden. Buchanan readily accepted of the offer, and so far undervalued Carden, that he sent his second son, then only a child, without any other guard, than his dry-nurse, to oversee him, along with Arnpryor, to be kept by him as his heir. Upon notice hereof, Carden came to Arnpryor's house with a resolution to kill him, or oblige him to send back Buchanan's son, and grant his former demands. Arnpryor having gone out of the way, Carden very imperiously ordered the woman who attended Buchanan's child, to carry him back forthwith whence he came, otherwise he would burn Arnpryor's house, and them together. The woman replied, that she would not desert the house for any thing he durst do, telling him withal, if he offered the least violence, it would be revenged to his cost. This stout reply was somewhat damping to Carden, who at the same time reflecting, that he would not only be obnoxious to the laws for any violent measures he should take, but also to enmity with Buchanan, which he was by no means able to support, therefore followed the safest course, by desisting for the future either

to molest Arnpryor, or frustrate his destination, so that his adopted heir enjoyed his estate, without the least impediment, after his death.

This John Buchanan of Auchmar and Arnpryor, was afterwards termed king of Kippen, upon the following account: King James V., a very sociable debonair prince, residing at Stirling, in Buchanan of Arnpryor's time, carriers were very frequently passing along the common road, being near Arnpryor's house, with necessaries for the use of the king's family, and he having some extraordinary occasion, ordered one of these carriers to leave his load at his house, and he would pay him for it; which the carrier refused to do, telling him he was the king's carrier, and his load for his majesty's use, to which Arnpryor seemed to have small regard, compelling the carrier in the end to leave his load, telling him, if king James was king of Scotland, he was king of Kippen, so that it was reasonable he should share with his neighbour king in some of these loads, so frequently carried that road. The carrier representing this usage, and telling the story as Arnpryor spoke it, to some of the king's servants, it came at length to his majesty's ears, who shortly thereafter with a few attendants came to visit his neighbour king, who was in the meantime at dinner. King James having sent a servant to demand access, was denied the same by a tall fellow, with a battle-ax, who stood porter at the gate, telling, there could be no access till dinner was over. This answer not satisfying the king, he sent to demand access a second time; upon which he was desired by the

porter to desist, otherwise he would find cause to repent his rudeness. His majesty finding this method would not do, desired the porter to tell his master, that the Good-man of Ballageich desired to speak with the king of Kippen. The porter telling Arnpryor so much, he in all humble manner came and received the king, and having entertained him with much sumptuousness and jollity, became so agreeable to king James, that he allowed him to take so much of any provision he found carrying that road, as he had occasion for; and seeing he made the first visit, desired Arnpryor in a few days to return him a second at Stirling, which he performed, and continued in very much favour with the king always thereafter, being termed king of Kippen while he lived.

Arnpryor had also the lands of Gartartan, by which he was sometimes designed, particularly he is so designed in a charter, in his favour, by John, Commendator of Inchmahomo, of certain lands called Hornhaugh. He obtained charter of the lands of Brachern from John M'Nair, heritor thereof, dated in the year 1530. There is a certain traditional account, that the lands of Brachern, after Arnpryor obtained right thereto, were violently possessed by one M'Tormad, captain of a company of outlaws, who, with his associates, in number twenty-four, coming to a tavern in Drymen parish, at a place called Chappellairoch; Arnpryor upon notice thereof, came in the night-time to the tavern, accompanied with some few horsemen, and finding these outlaws overcome

with liquor and sleep, made fast the door of the house where they lay, and then set fire to it, all therein being either burnt or killed. He afterwards gave the lands of Brachern, with those of Cashly, to one of his sons. This brave gentleman, with divers others of his name, being killed at the battle of Pinky, in queen Mary's minority, he was succeeded by

ANDREW his eldest son, as is clear by charter, in his favour, and of John Buchanan his son and apparent heir, of the lands of Arnpryor, dated in the year 1560. There is also a charter, by Bartholomew Bane, in favour of the said Andrew, of the Milntown of Buchlyvie, dated in the year 1557. Andrew had two sons, John his successor, and Walter, to whom his father disponed the Milntown, or, as others write, Hiltown of Buchlyvie.

There is little account to be had of John, third laird of Arnpryor, or his successors for two descents, upon account of the loss of the principal writes of that family. The last of these who was in possession of Arnpryor, was John, who sold those lands to Sir John, laird of Buchanan, and were by him disponed to John Buchanan of Mochastel, of Lenny's family, and grandfather to Francis Buchanan, now of Arnpryor.

John Buchanan, who sold Arnpryor, having gone to Ireland, was killed by the Irish in the year 1641. He had two sons, William and David, who both died without issue. He had also three daughters; Dorothy, first married to Robert Buchanan, one of king Charles I. his butlers. To

him she had two daughters, both married in Ireland. She was afterwards married to colonel Hublethorn, an Englishman, governor of Waterford. She had to him one son, captain Hublethorn, and some daughters. Arnpryor's second daughter was Alice, married to Cuningham of Trinbeg. The third, Anna, married to Cuningham of Finnick.

This last Arnpryor had two brethren; Mr. David, a gentleman of great learning, of whom I shall speak afterwards, and captain William, a gentleman of very much courage, and of the greatest art and dexterity in managing a sword of any of his time. He killed an Italian in Dublin, in presence of the lord lieutenant, and other nobility of that kingdom; the same Italian having gone through most nations in Europe, always having had the victory of all he encountered with. Captain William, being one of Buchanan's captains at Ennerkeithing, a certain English officer, when the two armies advanced near to one another, stept forth, and challenged any of the Scottish army to exchange a few blows with him. The challenge was accepted by captain William, who, though a very little man of person, did in a trice kill that English champion. This captain William resided mostly in Ireland, in which kingdom his progeny continued.

The first cadet of the family of Arnpryor was DUNCAN, second son to John Buchanan, first of Arnpryor, in whose favour his father disponed the lands of Brachern, in Buchanan parish. He was succeeded by Duncan his son, who purchased

from James Drummond of Innerpafray, the lands of Cashly and Gartinstarry, as is clear by charter of these lands in his favour, dated in the year 1468. Duncan's daughter and heiress, Margaret, married her cousin John Buchanan of Hiltown, or Milntown of Buchlyvie, to whom she conveyed all her father's interest.

The second cadet of the family was WALTER, second son to Andrew Buchanan, the second of Arnpryor, to whom his father disponed the Milntown of Buchlyvie. His son John married the heiress of Cashly and Brachern, as already mentioned. He was killed at the conflict of Glenfroon, betwixt Luss and the M'Grigors. He left two sons, John and Andrew. John, the second of Buchlyvie and Cashly, sold the lands of Brachern to one Duncan M'Pharlan. This John had two sons, Duncan, who sold the lands of Cashly, except Gartinstarry; and Andrew, who purchased the lands of Ballachneck. Duncan had swo sons, John, late Gartinstarry, who had two sons, James, now of Gartinstarry, representer of the family of Arnpryor, and John, maltman in Glasgow. Andrew of Ballachneck had two sons, John, father to Moses Buchanan of Ballachneck, and George, at present in Ballachneck. Andrew, second brother to John, late Gartinstarry, purchased the lands of Nenbolg and Provanstoun, being designed by the latter. Andrew, second son to John, first of Cashly, who went to Ireland, was ancestor to John, Andrew, and William, with others residing near Dunvigan in the county of Derry. There are also descended of this fami-

ly, Andrew Buchanan, merchant in Borrowstouness, James Buchanan, wright in Edinburgh, and John Buchanan, merchant in England, with Robert Buchanan, cordiner in Glasgow, and the progeny of Duncan Buchanan, Notar in Arnmoir, and others in Kippen parish.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

FAMILY OF DRUMIKILL.

THE estate of DRUMIKILL, with a great many other lands in the east parts of the parish of Drymen, (as far as a traditional account may be relied on,) did of old belong to the name of Arral, which name, in the minority of king David Bruce, having associated with the enemies of their prince and country, they, upon the reduction of their adherents, not only continued obstinate in their rebellion, but in further aggravation of their guilt, committed divers other insolencies, which in the end gave just cause for their whole lands being forfeited, and letters of fire and sword being directed against them. The execution of these letters being committed to the laird of Buchanan, he did, with no small difficulty and bloodshed, bring the surviving remainder of these Arrals to justice. Among the number of these was Thomas Arral of Drumikill, commonly termed *Taus na*

Dunnach, or Thomas the mischievous. The king is said to have offered this gentleman a pardon at the place of execution, which he refused, disdaining to live after so many of his name, who had lost their lives through his influence, and in his quarrel. After the subversion of these Arrals, Buchanan, in reward of his service against them, obtained Drumikill, Easter and Wester Ballats, and some other parts of their lands, lying most contiguous to his own estate, which the lairds of Buchanan retained in their own hands, till the one-half of Drumikill, with Easter Ballat, was given to Carbeth's ancestor, as the other half, with Wester Ballat, was given to Drumikill's, at the times the ancestors of these two families came off that of Buchanan.

There is a current tradition, that the laird of Buchanan gave the half of the estate of Drumikill, with Wester Ballat, and some other lands, formerly belonging to the Arrals, to one of his sons long before the ancestor of the present family of Drumikill came off Buchanan's family, and that Thomas, the first of this present race, for his first lady married the heiress of the principal person of the old family. And that which favours somewhat this account is, that the ancestors of the Buchanans of Drumhead and Wester Ballat, though always reputed cadets of Drumikill, can produce some evidents of their lands of a date not long posterior to the most ancient now in custody of Drumikill. But having found no document either among the late Buchanan's or Drumikill's evidences that can in any measure clear this allegation,

I must leave it undetermined, though it be no way improbable, if there had been any such evidences, the same might by some contingency or other be lost, as are a great many of these of Buchanan, and the whole of baron MacAuslan's most ancient writes. However this be,

The first of the present family of Drumikill, that is recorded by the genealogical tree of Buchanan, and evidences of Drumikill, is THOMAS BUCHANAN, son to Patrick, first of that name laird of Buchanan, and of Galbraith, heiress of Killearn, Bamoir, and Auchinreoch, his lady. The first documents relating to this Thomas, is a disposition to him, by Finnoyse MacAulay, heiress of a little tenement in Drymen, called Croftewer; in which disposition he is designed, An honourable person, Thomas Buchanan, brother-german to Walter Buchanan of that ilk; the said disposition being dated in the year 1482. There is a resignation by John Blair of Adamtoun, in the hands of William, lord Graham, of the lands of Middle Ledlewan, now Moss, for new infeftment to be given of these lands to Thomas Buchanan of Balleun, brother-german to Walter Buchanan of that ilk, dated in the year 1484. Procurators to the resignation are Walter Buchanan of that ilk, Patrick Colchoun of Glyn, and John Nenbolg of that ilk. There is a charter also of Balleun, by Walter, laird of Buchanan, in favour of this Thomas, some little time before this of Moss, in the same year. There is also charter by Matthew, earl of Lennox, in favour of this Thomas, designed of Balleun, of that part of the half-lands of Drumi-

kill not formerly disponed, called Browster-croft, of date 1491. The same Thomas grants charter of the half-lands of Drumikill to Robert Buchanan his son in fee, with reservation of his own, and Geils Cuningham, his spouse's life-rents, dated in the year 1495. This Thomas, upon the death of Thomas Buchanan of Carbeth, his uncle, obtained the lands Gartincaber, which he and his successors retained possession of until Carbeth sold his half of Drumikill, to the proprietor of the other half of that estate, upon which occasion Carbeth re-obtained the beneficial tack of Gartincaber, of which a cadet of his family is now in possession. And this seems to be the ground of the error into which some have run, concerning the ancestors of these two families being the same, in regard two Thomases, whose age differed so little, were proprietors of Gartincaber, and sometimes designed thereby. Thomas Buchanan of Carbeth's resignation of the half-lands of Drumikill, in the hands of James Halden of Glenegeis, superior thereof, and Glenegeis's confirmation of these lands in favour of Robert Buchanan, are dated in the year 1565. Thomas Buchanan first of Drumikill was married to Geils Cuningham, daughter to Cuningham of Drumquhassil; and by her as far as can be collected, he had four sons, that came to age; Robert his successor, Thomas, afterwards of Moss, William of Baturrich, now Drumhead, and John of Drumdash, afterwards of Camochoill and Wester Ballat.

To Thomas first of Drumikill succeeded his son ROBERT, as is evident by the charters in his

favour of the lands of Drumikill; as also by charter in his favour of Spittel of Finnick, with boat and boatland of Catter, by Matthew, earl of Lennox, dated at the earl's ancient mansion-house of Middle Catter, in the year 1505. This Robert was married to Margaret Hay, of what family not mentioned, and by her had two sons, Thomas his eldest, who, by any thing can be found, was married to Logy of that ilk's daughter. This Thomas was not entered to any of his father's estate, having died young, and long before his father, he being only mentioned as procurator in a seasin of Robert his father, by designation of Thomas Buchanan, primogenitus, or eldest son of Robert Buchanan of Drumikill. Robert's second son was John, ancestor of Buchanan in Wester Cameron. Thomas, last-mentioned, left two sons, Robert and Walter.

Robert, eldest son to the said Thomas, was served heir to his grandfather, Robert Buchanan of Drumikill, by designation of his nephew, and apparent heir, in the year 1518. He died unmarried, at least without issue, and was succeeded by his brother Walter, as testifies a precept of *Clare Constat* and charter thereon, in favour of him, and Janet Buchanan his spouse, in life-rent, and Thomas Buchanan, their son, in fee of the lands of Drumikill, dated 1536. I find this Walter mentioned in a bond of an hundred merks due to John Lennox of Branshogle, by Graham of Fintry, Cuningham of Glengarnock, and Galbraith of Balgair, principals, earl of Glencairn, Cun-

ingham of Drumquhassil, and Walter Buchanan of Drumikill, cautioners, all in one bond, and subscribed by two nottars, in regard none of all the principals or cautioners could write, except Fintry and Drumikill. This bond was dated in the year 1537, which being in the time when popery prevailed in this nation, and a consummate ignorance of all manner of learning, it is not to be wondered at, that so many laicks should not be able to write, when I have even heard from a gentleman of very good repute, that he had perused a write of date near that time, in which two of the monks of Paisly were inserted witnesses, for whom the nottar was obliged to sign, in regard these two clergymen were ignorant of letters. Walter Buchanan of Drumikill was first married to Janet Buchanan, daughter to Walter Buchanan of Spittel, by whom he had Thomas his successor. He had for second lady a daughter of Kinross of Kippenross, and had by her William, afterward of Ross.

To Walter, succeeded his son THOMAS, as is clear, by the charter already mentioned, with divers others. He was first married to Logan of Balvey's daughter; secondly, to Stirling of Glorat's daughter. Of these marriages he had three sons, William, his successor; Walter of Conochra; and James who went to Ireland.

Thomas was succeeded by his son WILLIAM, who married Semple of Fulwood's daughter, by whom he had three sons, Walter his successor; Thomas and George; which last two went to Ire-

land, where divers of their progeny live in good circumstances. He had also one daughter, married to Kincaid of Auchinreoch.

WALTER, succeeded his father William, and was married to Hamilton of Kinglassy's daughter. By her he had two sons, William, first of Cragievairn; and Dugal of Gartincaber.

To Walter, succeeded his son WILLIAM, who was married to Cuningham of Boquhan's daughter. He had with her three sons, John, William and Walter. The two last left no issue. This William sold the estate of Drumikill, to his cousin, Captain William Buchanan, second son to William Buchanan, first of Ross, and afterward purchased from my lord Napier, the lands of Craigievairn, by which he and his successors were afterwards designed.

To William, first designed Craigievairn, succeeded his son JOHN, who married Cuningham of Trinbeg's daughter, and had by her one son, William, his successor; and one daughter, married to lieutenant James Hamilton, brother to Hamilton of Bardowie.

William, present Cragievairn, married Hamilton of Bardowie's daughter, and hath by her a numerous issue.

The first cadet of the family of Drumikill, was THOMAS BUCHANAN, second son to Thomas Buchanan, first of Drumikill, who obtained the lands of Moss. He married Agnes Herriot, daughter to Herriot of Trabrown, and had by her three sons. Of these was Patrick, sent to the king of Denmark to require that Hepburn, earl of Bothwel, then prisoner in that kingdom, should be sent to Scot-

land in order to be punished for Darnlie's murder. This Patrick had no male issue; so that the Moss, by virtue of some certain clause in his father Patrick's charter of the same, returned to the laird of Drumikill, or was purchased by him. Thomas of Moss's other two sons, were Alexander Buchanan of Ibert, and the great Mr. George Buchanan.

There are some of opinion, that Patrick, Alexander, and Mr. George were sons of Thomas, eldest son of Robert, second Drumikill. But this supposition is clearly overthrown by a charter among Drumikill's evidences lately perused by me, which had escaped me upon my first perusal of them, being a charter of William, earl of Montrose, to Thomas Buchanan, brother-german to Robert Buchanan of Drumikill, as nearest heir to Thomas Buchanan, his pupillus, that is, as I take it, his nephew, or brother's son, of the lands of Moss. So that the Moss being then the appenage, or second son's portion of the family of Drumikill; and this Thomas, being the only second son existing at that time, obtained these lands, at least during his own lifetime, as the custom of such lands was then, and for a long time thereafter. For further illustration of this matter, I have seen in the hands of George Buchanan of Bellachruin, lineal successor of Alexander Buchanan of Ibert, and consequently representer of the family of Moss, a discharge by Walter Buchanan of Drumikill, to Alexander Buchanan of Ibert, his cousin, and emm, discharging his intromission for some years, with the rents of a part of the estate of Drumikill. Which Walter, by authentic documents already mentioned, is found to

be son to Thomas, younger of Drumikill, and grandchild to Robert. And Alexander of Ibert, by the evidences of Gartcalderland, and others, is known to be son to Buchanan of Moss, and brother to Mr. George. Whereas if he, and Mr. George had been sons to Thomas, younger of Drumikill, they had undoubtedly been designed brethren to Walter of Drumikill, granter of the said discharge: and the term of cousin and emm, had been utterly unsuitable and nonsensical; the word emm, importing an uncle, or granduncle's son, which was the real relation of these two gentlemen to the said Walter Buchanan of Drumikill.

Thomas of Moss's second son, was ALEXANDER BUCHANAN of Ibert, who had two sons, the eldest of whom, was Mr. Thomas Buchanan, as is clear by charter of Ibert in his favour, by Mr. Thomas Archibald, Vicar of Drymen, of date 1567 years. He became lord privy-seal, upon demission of that office by his uncle, Mr. George. He married a daughter of the second marriage, of John, laird of Buchanan; by whom he had two daughters, the eldest married to Patrick Buchanan of Auchmar, the second to Captain Henry Cuningham. John, second son to Alexander of Ibert, acquired the lands of Ballachruin, being ancestor to George Buchanan of Ballachruin, whose brethren were Moses Buchanan, Merchant; and Arthur, Wright in Glasgow; and William, who left one son George, who went abroad. There are also descended of this family, Buchanan, lately of Harperstoun; Buchanan, portioner of Clober, with some others.

Thomas of Moss's third son, was the said Mr.

GEORGE BUCHANAN; of whom being an honour to our name and nation, I shall give a large account after having finished my account of the family of Drumikill.

The next cadet of the family of Drumikill, to that of Moss, was William Buchanan of Baturrich, third son to Thomas Buchanan of Drumikill. The first lands obtained after he came off that family, were those of Meikle Baturrich in Kilmaronock parish. He married one of the name of M'Aulay, Heiress of Blairhenachan, now Drumhead, in the parish of Cardross, and shire of Dunbarton; as appears by charter in favour of the said William Buchanan, dated in the year 1530. The genealogical tree of the family of Buchanan, asserts this William to have been married to Arncaple's daughter; but it seems this M'Aulay of Blairhenachan, whose heiress he married, was a son of the family of Arncaple, so that the error is not very considerable. William first of Blairhanachan's successor, was Robert, who obtained a charter of these lands from Alexander M'Aulay of Arncaple, dated in the year 1552. This Robert made an excambion with Haldan of Glenegeis, of the lands of Baturrich, with those of Blairwhoish, in possession of which Drumhead continues. Robert above-mentioned, had three sons, Robert, his successor; Mungo, first of Tullichewn; and John, or as others say with no less probability, Thomas, first of Drumfad.

Robert, second Blairhenachan, was succeeded by his son of the same name, who had two sons, Archibald his successor, and Robert, who went to Ireland, and resided in Glenmaqueen in the coun-

ty of Derry. He had two sons, Archibald and George. Archibald, the eldest of these sons, married his cousin-german, heiress of Blairhenachan, the title of which he changed into that of Drumhead, yet retained. He was father to Archibald, now of Drumhead, who is married to Anderson of Stobcross's daughter, by whom he hath three sons and two daughters. His eldest son, Archibald Buchanan, younger of Drumhead, is married to Gilbert Buchanan of Bankel's daughter. James and George, his other two sons, both merchants in Glasgow, are unmarried. His eldest daughter is married to Robert Buchanan, writer in Glasgow. His other daughter is unmarried. Drumhead had two sisters, the eldest married to Napier of Ballikinrain, the youngest to Buchanan of Balfunning.

The first cadet of Drumhead's family, is Buchanan of Tullichewn. Mungo Buchanan, second son to Robert, second Blairhenachan, who purchased the Spittels of Creitingaws, from the Dennistouns, coheiresses of these Spittels; the one part thereof from the one of these, with consent of Thomas Buchanan, her husband, who seems to be brother to the said Mungo, in the year 1603; the other half of these Spittels from the other heiress, in the year 1605. In which year, he got charter of confirmation of the Spittels, from James Denniestoun of Colgrain, superior thereof. Mungo's successor was Robert, who obtained first a tack, and after a feu-charter, from Lodowick, Duke of Lennox, of the lands of meikle Tullichewn. This Robert had two sons, Robert, his successor; and William, who acquired Stuckrodger. Robert of Tul-

lichewn had one son, Mungo, who had four sons, Robert, his successor; James, who acquired a part of little Tullichewn, and had issue; Mungo, Writer in Edinburgh, who purchased Hiltoun and Auchintorly, and left issue; and William, now in Tullichewn.

Thomas, youngest brother of Mungo, first of Tullichewn, and third son to Robert, second Blairhenachan, acquired a feu, or wedset-right, of the lands of meikle Drumfad in Glenfroon. His son was called John, designed of Drumfad; which lands this John, or rather his son of the same name, sold, being ancestor to John Buchanan of Cattermiln in the parish of Kilmaronock, and others.

There are also divers of the family of Drumhead besides these mentioned, who reside in the parishes of Dunbarton and Bonneil. William of Stuckrodger, above-named, had one son, William, who mostly resided at St. Ninians, who had two sons, William, who left one son; and James, who went abroad.

The next cadet of Drumhead's family, was WALTER, ordinarily termed Walter in Drymen, because he resided the most part of his time in that village. Having no manner of document, to testify the time and manner of the descent of this Walter, off that of Drumhead, I must leave the same undetermined, though he is always reputed, as also owned by his progeny to be a cadet of the said family. This Walter had two sons, John and Walter, both notars. John had three sons, Walter the eldest, for whom he purchased the lands of Moss, being grandfather to the present Walter Buchanan of

Moss, and father to John Buchanan of Carstoun. John, the notar's second son was John, grandfather to Archibald Buchanan of Balfunning, and father to John Buchanan of little Croy. His third son was William, who had one son, who never married. Walter in Drymen's second son, Walter, went to Argyllshire, and settled in Melfort in that shire, in which, and Lismore, divers of his race continue yet. Some others came thence, and settled in Drymen parish and other places.

The last cadet of the family of Drumhead, is GEORGE, the present Drumhead's uncle. He resided the most of his time near Rapho, in the county of Derry in Ireland. He purchased a pretty good interest in that kingdom. He was a gentleman of a very good character, and very much esteemed in that place. He had two sons, the eldest succeeded to his interest, the youngest was a clergyman.

The third cadet of the family of Drumikill, was JOHN, fourth son to Thomas, first of Drumikill, who for patrimony, got a beneficial tack of Drumdash in Drymen parish. He was killed by the Buchanans of Cashill, and succeeded by his son Walter, who sold Drumdash, and obtained a tack of Camochoil, and purchased the Spittel of Wester Ballat, from the M'Convels, heiresses thereof, about the year 1552. He also got a grasoum tack of Wester Ballat. He had two sons John and Duncan, John, his eldest son, had no male issue, the beneficial tack of Camochoil, by that means fell to his daughters. The eldest of these being married to one Blair, conveyed with her the Camochoil, being

ancestor to Blair now of Camochoil. John's brother obtained the heritage of the Spittels, with tack of Wester Ballat. I find this John last mentioned, inserted witness in a brieve, directed to Patrick de Buchanan, sheriff of Stirling, for infefting of Robrt eBuchanan, nephew and heir to Robert Buchanan of Drumikill. Duncan the said John's brother, was ancestor to Patrick Buchanan of Wester Ballat, who had three sons, John, the eldest, who had issue; Mr. Thomas, writer in Edinburgh; and Duncan, merchant in London. Of this family is descended, John Buchanan in Hiltoun of Buchlyvie; Patrick Buchanan Merchant at Kippen kirk, with some others in these parts. There are also divers of this family in the counties of Antrim and Down, in Ireland.

The fourth cadet of the family of Drumikill, was JOHN of Cameron, second son to Robert, second of Drumikill. He was married to Denniestoun of Auchindinnan's daughter. He obtained the lands of Wester Cameron in tack; his son having afterwards purchased the same in heritage, which was sold by Walter, grandfather to the present William in Cameron, to Drumikill. There are few, or none of this family remaining, except William, now in Cameron, who hath three sons, Walter, William and John, all married. William had a brother called George, who went abroad.

There was one Angus Buchanan of Finniektenent, reputed a cadet of Drumikill, and if so, behoved to be a third son of Robert, second laird of Drumikill. The last of that family went to Ireland, more than an age ago. There being no account

whether any of that race be remaining in that kingdom or not, there is no great occasion to insist too much upon the descent of the same.

The fifth cadet of Drumikill, was WILLIAM BUCHANAN of Ross, second son to Walter, fourth laird of Drumikill, his mother being Kinross of Kippenross's daughter. He married John Buchanan in Gartincaber's daughter, by whom he had three sons, John, his successor; Captain William and George; also three daughters, the eldest married to Cuningham of Trinbeg, the second to Buchanan of Auchmar, the third to Buchanan of Carbeth. He purchased the lands of Ross from the earl of Glencairn, and was succeeded by John his son, who was thrice married, first to Cuningham of Drumquhassil's daughter, and had by her, one son, and two daughters. The eldest of these daughters was married to Andrew, laird of M'Pharlan, being mother to the late John, laird of M'Pharlan. The other daughter was married to Robert Taylor of Mansfield, and had issue. John of Ross was secondly married to Crawford of Kilbirnie's daughter, relict to Lindsay of Balquhuarage. He had with her one son, William, second laird of Drumikill of that race, and one daughter married to Edward Buchanan of Spittel. He had for third lady, Anna Bickertoun, with whom he had issue.

Captain William, second son to William first of Ross, was thrice married, but had no issue. He purchased the estate of Drumikill from his cousin William, eighth laird thereof; and because he had no issue of his own, disponed that estate

to his nephew William Buchanan, second son to John of Ross, the captain's eldest brother.

This William of Drumikill married a daughter of MacAulay of Arncaple, and had by her three sons, William, who died unmarried, Archibald, now of Drumikill, and George, who had no issue, also one daughter, married to lieutenant William Bontein, brother to the laird of Airdoch, who had issue. Archibald, present Drumikill, married Jean Buchanan, heiress of Ross, daughter of James Buchanan of Ross his uncle, and of Margaret Stirling, daughter to Stirling of Law. With her he had four sons and four daughters; George, third son to William first of Ross, was killed in the year 1645, having no issue.

The sixth cadet of the family of Drumikill was WALTER of Conachra in Drymen parish, second son to Thomas, third of that name, and fifth laird of Drumikill. There are none of his male issue living except Thomas Buchanan of Kirkhouse of Strablane, and his children. The said Walter had one daughter, married to John Govean in Drymen, being mother to William Govean of Drumquhassil. The said Thomas had a third son, James, who went to Ireland.

The seventh cadet of Drumikill was THOMAS, second son to William, sixth laird of Drumikill. He, with his brother George, went to Ireland, where their progeny reside.

The last cadet of that family was DUGAL BUCHANAN, second son to Walter, seventh laird of Drumikill, and brother to William, last of that race of Drumikill, and first of Craigievairn. This

Dugal acquired Lower Gartincaber in Buchanan parish: he was twice married, having of the first marriage John Buchanan, writer in Edinburgh, of the second marriage Thomas Buchanan, perriwig-maker in Glasgow.

The old family, of Drumikill of which William Buchanan, now of Craigievairn, is representer, by any information I can obtain, for armorial bearing carries the bearing of Buchanan; and for distinction, a battle-ax in the lion's dexter paw, pointing towards the chief proper, with helmet in crest, suiting his quality. The motto, *Prosecute or Perish.*

The present Buchanan of Drumikill bears Buchanan; and for distinction, in the lion's dexter paw, a man's heart proper; his crest, a dexter hand holding a sword. Motto, *God with my right.*

Buchanan of Drumhead, a cadet of the old family of Drumikill, bears Buchanan; for distinction, a bent bow in the lion's sinister paw, and an arrow in his dexter: for crest, a sinister hand holding a bent bow. His motto, *Par fit Fortuna Labori.*

AN

ACCOUNT

OF

MR. GEORGE BUCHANAN.

HAVING finished my account of the family of Drumikill, I return, according to promise, to give some memoirs of the famous Mr. George Buchanan, who brought such a mighty accession of honour both to his name and country. It agrees not with my design to give a complete history of this great man; for that would be to give a history of Scotland during the age in which he lived, in the affairs whereof he bore so considerable a part. He was born, as he himself informs us, in the year 1506. The death of his father, and the breaking of his grandfather, brought the family under very great difficulties. His mother being left a widow with eight children, did all she could for their education, though under the greatest discouragements. But it was George's peculiar good fortune to be taken notice of by a brother of his mother's, who finding him extremely capable of

learning, sent him to Paris; from whence, after about two years' stay, he was obliged to return, by reason of his narrow circumstances, and want of health. After his recovery he became a volunteer in the French troops then in Scotland, but soon falling sick again, went to St. Andrews, and studied logic under the celebrated John Major. He followed him to France the same year, and after having stayed at Paris two years, struggling with his misfortunes, he was called to teach grammar in the college of St. Barbara. This he did for three years. He was brought back into Scotland by a young nobleman, the earl of Cassils, who had kept him with him five years in Paris. He intended to have returned again into France, but was prevented by the king's appointing him governor to his natural son, the earl of Murray. He had some time before this wrote a poem, which enraged the whole fraternity of Cordeliers against him, and raised him many enemies, with whose reproaches he was so touched, that he began from thenceforward to listen more than ever to the teachers of the Reformation. About this time the king returning from France, made the clergy very uneasy, they being apprehensive, that queen Magdalen whom he brought along with him, had imbibed the new opinions from her aunt the queen of Navarre. But the death of that princess soon dispelled their fears. Sometime after a plot was discovered against the king, who upon this found reason to believe, that the Cordeliers had not discharged their duty to him. He therefore commanded Buchanan to write some verses. Buchan-

an obeyed without any reluctance, but kept within bounds, and made use of ambiguous expressions. The king not pleased with those verses, commanded him to write sharper, which was accordingly done in the famous Sylva, which is called Franciscanus. Cardinal Beton hereupon plotted his ruin, and even proceeded so far as to get him thrown into prison, from whence he escaped by his ingenuity, and fled into England. But matters being in such confusion there, that one day the Lutherans were burnt, and the next day the papists, he thought fit to retire again into France; and for fear cardinal Beton, who was then ambassador at that court, should play him some trick, he privately withdrew from Paris, and went to Bourdeaux, whither Andrew Goveanus, a learned Portuguese, invited him. He taught three years there, though not without some dread of the Cordeliers and cardinal Beton, which last had written to the archbishop of Bourdeaux to secure him; but that prelate was so kind as to discover the matter to some of Buchanan's intimate friends. After this he followed Goveanus into Portugal, who had orders from the king his master to bring him a certain number of persons fit to teach philosophy and literature in the new university he had founded at Conimbria. All went well as long as Goveanus lived, but he dying soon after, the learned men who followed him, particularly Buchanan, were vexed all manner of ways. They ript up his poem against the Cordeliers, and reproached him with eating flesh in Lent, though according to the custom of the country. It was also pretended,

that in his discourse he had discovered some disgust at the catholic religion. He was thus plagued with them for above a year together, till at last, for fear of discovering that they had unjustly harrassed a man of reputation, they confined him for some months to a monastery, in order to be better instructed. It was there he undertook his admired paraphrase of the Psalms, which has been since prized at such an inestimable rate by the learned world. Having obtained his liberty, he past into England, but quickly returned to France. Some years after he entered into the service of mareschal de Brissac, and was tutor to his son Timoleon de Cosse, to whom he has inscribed his incomparable poem De Sphæra. The mareschal then commanded the French army in Piedmont. Buchanan continued five years in that employment, sometimes in Italy, and sometimes in France. He quitted it in 1560. Returning into Scotland after the disturbances occasioned by the faction of the Guises were composed, he went over openly to the communion of the reformed church, and was made preceptor to king James VI. in 1565.

Thus far have we an account of this great man from himself, as he wrote, and published it in his own lifetime. His modesty withheld him from giving us a detail of the great honours and prosperity to which he afterwards arrived. However, the histories of that age make it evident, he was for some years in the management of our Scottish affairs. By being promoted to the post of lord privy-seal, he became one of the great officers of state. And his activity in pushing the Reform

tion gave him such a character with our reformers, that he was chosen by them to preside in one of their general assemblies as moderator, notwithstanding of his being a layman.

Yet these are but a small part of his honours, compared with that lasting glory he has acquired by his admirable writings. His History of Scotland, both for disposition and purity of language, has been looked upon, by all good judges, to come the nearest to the ancients of any performance these latter ages have produced. I know indeed he has been blamed by some people of partiality; but the imputation has never yet been made sufficiently out upon those passages excepted against. He has also been no less censured for maintaining several principles, apprehended to be destructive of government, in his dialogue *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*. It is not my business either to justify or condemn him in this matter. Yet thus much may safely be said for him, That he has laid down no general principles of government, but what have been maintained by the greatest legislators and philosophers of antiquity; and that he has been followed in them by several of the most eminent among the modern writers. If to err be a fault, it is always allowed to be an extenuation of it, to err in good company. And this is all I shall say on the matter.

Buchanan's poetical writings have met with a better fate; very few having had the hardiness to detract from the worth of them, and those few that have done it, having gained so little honour by it. He has been admired over all Europe, as

the many editions of his works abundantly testify, which, as they are in every body's hands, it would be a very needless piece of presumption in me to give any character of. Nor shall I trouble either myself or the reader with the numerous encomiums of learned men upon him; but conclude with the single testimony of the great Scaliger, whose praise, considering how little he was addicted to bestow it, cannot be suspected.

Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia limes;
Romani eloqui Scotia finis erit.

As Scotia's realms the Roman power confin'd,
So here their rest Rome's arts and language find.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

FAMILY OF CARBETH.

THERE has been a long continued pretension made by the lairds of Drumikill, that the ancestor of this family of CARBETH was a cadet of the family of Drumikill. At what time this pretension was formed, how long continued, or how far acquiesced in, in more ancient times, I cannot positively determine; but am very confident, the late Carbeth, a man pretty well skilled in the genealogy of his own, and other families of his name, did not in the least own any such matter. Though I must own it would be a matter of the utmost difficulty to distinguish these two families, were it not the two charters, after-mentioned, being the most ancient pertaining to this family, are so very clear of themselves; which, notwithstanding, does not fully satisfy some of the more nice and critical. For satisfaction of such, I shall here observe some few things, besides what I offered in the account

of the family of Drumikill. That which admits of the greatest difficulty in being resolved, and is mostly objected, is a service of William, sixth laird of Drumikill, which I perused among others of the late Buchanan's evidents, by which the said William is served heir to Thomas Buchanan, of Gartincaber, great grandfather to the said William. So that the first charter of Thomas of Carbeth's ancestor being that of Gartincaber, it is presumed, he was ancestor of both the families. For resolution of this, it is very evident, that all appenage, or tanistry lands, though always disponed by charter to the second sons of families, did never descend or accresce to their heirs, but did always, upon decease of him to whom these were first disponed, return again to the principal family, and were by that after the same manner reserved for, and disponed to, the next second son of the same. This is so very demonstrable, by so many instances, as to need no further confirmation. So that Thomas of Carbeth, being second son to Sir Walter, laird of Buchanan, obtained from his eldest brother, Patrick, the lands of Gartincaber during life, after whose death Patrick gave these lands to another Thomas, his second son; or, more probably, Walter, Patrick's successor, disponed these lands to the same Thomas his brother, being ancestor of the family of Drumikill, as the tree of Buchanan plainly asserts; and by this means the service in favour of William of Drumikill is very right, whereas if he had been served to Carbeth's ancestor by designation of Gartincaber, he would be a degree further removed than Walter of Drumi-

kill his great grandfather. Yea, the cadets of the family of Drumikill, from the death of Thomas of Carbeth, possest these lands of Gartincaber till the time of this service, immediately after which, Carbeth obtained the beneficial tack of the same, or rather before this time, as is reported, having then obliged Drumikill to serve heir to his ancestor, in order to make his right thereof to Carbeth the more valid. For further illustration of this matter, it is plain, Thomas of Carbeth's ancestor obtained the lands of Carbeth in heritage some years before any charter can be produced in favour of Thomas first of Drumikill. So that if these had been one and the same, it cannot be in reason supposed, but that he had been designed by Carbeth, in some one or other of these evidents of Drumikill and Moss, in which he is always mentioned by other designations. Lastly, in that resignation, by Thomas Buchanan of Carbeth, of his half of Drumikill, to Robert Buchanan, second Drumikill, *anno* 1505, he is there designed by Carbeth, without the least intimation of any relation betwixt him and the said Robert; whereas if the above-mentioned allegation were true, this Thomas the disponer behoved to be Robert's father, which could not miss to be so specified upon this occasion; whereas Robert's father in his disposition to him of the other half of Drumikill, in the year 1495, is there designed Thomas Buchanan of Drumikill, ten years before the date of this other write. So that it is very clear, Thomas first of Carbeth, and Thomas of Drumikill, were two different persons, the first being

uncle to the latter; and that Thomas, who disponed his part to Robert, was cousin-german to the first Thomas of Drumikill.

Judging that by what I have here and elsewhere advanced, I have put this matter in a clearer light than hitherto the same has been done; I shall proceed to the account of the family of Carbeth. The first charter I find relating to the same is, a charter by Patrick, first of that name laird of Buchanan, to his beloved brother, THOMAS BUCHANAN, of the lands of Gartincaber, dated in the year 1461, by which it is clear that the said Thomas was second or third son to Sir Walter, third of that name laird of Buchanan, his mother being daughter of Murdoc, duke of Albany. This Thomas was the first who acquired Carbeth, as appears by a charter granted by John Halden of Glenegeis to an honourable person, Thomas Buchanan of Gartincaber, of Meikle Carbeth, dated in the year 1476. There is no record to testify into what family this Thomas married; but it is pretty clear he had two sons, Thomas and John, to whom he gave for portion the beneficial tack of Easter Ballat, which with Balwill and Kepdourie, (the two last being confirmed by charter of Carbeth,) seem to have been a part of the Arral's lands, though no evidents concerning the same, if any such were, are now extant.

To Thomas first of Carbeth succeeded his son THOMAS, who gave away his half of the lands of Drumikill to Robert Buchanan, laird of the other half thereof, in the year 1505, as is already mentioned. Thomas the second's marriage is as little

known as the first, if he was married at all; however, he seems to have lived a considerable time, having outlived his second brother John, and at length having died without issue.

Thomas Buchanan, son and heir to the deceased John Buchanan in Easter Ballat, as nearest heir to his uncle Thomas of Carbeth, obtained charter from John Halden of Glenegeis, in favour of himself and Janet Buchanan his spouse in liferent, and of Thomas Buchanan his son in fee, of the lands of Carbeth, in the year 1555. This Thomas the third of Carbeth is said to have been first married to a daughter of Douglas of Mains, by whom he had Thomas his successor; and for his second wife, was married to a daughter of the laird of Buchanan. By her he had five sons, and one daughter, married to Gregor MacGregor, Glengyle's ancestor. The sons were, John, Walter, William, Archibald, and Robert.

Thomas third of Carbeth was succeeded by his son of the same name, of whose marriage there is no account, nor of that of his successor, being also Thomas, fifth of that name of Carbeth, who had one daughter, married to Galbraith of Balgair, and was succeeded by his son

Thomas, sixth of that name. He married a daughter of Adam Colchoun, merchant in Dunbarton, said to be a son of Luss's, her mother being Lindsay of Bonneil's daughter. He had by her two sons, John his successor, and Walter.

John, first of that name, succeeded his father Thomas: he married a daughter of William Buchanan of Ross, and had by her two sons, John his

successor, and Moses of Glyn; also two daughters, the eldest married to James Forrester of Polder, the youngest to John Brice, notar.

JOHN, second of that name, succeeded to his father. He was first married to Cleland of Wardhead's daughter, by whom he had two daughters. The eldest of these was married to John Callender of Westertoun, the other to Thomas Buchanan of Boquhan. Carbeth was secondly married to Margaret Steven, heiress of Easter Cattar and Finnicktenant: by her he had two sons, John his successor, and Moses of Glyns; also one daughter, married to Buchanan of Auchmar.

JOHN, third of that name of Carbeth, succeeded to his father. He married Stirling of Kippendavie's daughter, by whom he had two sons, William his heir, and Moses, and one daughter unmarried. William Buchanan, younger of Carbeth, is married to Kincaid of Auchinreoch's daughter, by whom he hath issue.

The first cadet of the family of Carbeth is Buchanan in Gartfarrand in Drymen parish, whose ancestor seems to have been son to Thomas first of Carbeth, having obtained a beneficial tack from the lord Drummond, then proprietor of Gartfarrands, in which, and other parts of that country, divers of that race continue as yet.

The second cadet of the family of Carbeth is Buchanan of Easter Ballat, his ancestor being John, second son to Thomas first of Carbeth. And although Thomas, eldest son to this John, fell into the interest of Carbeth, and left his brother William in possession of Ballat, yet it seems

he did not quit the benefit of the tack of Ballat to his brother, till the same was sold off by Thomas, successor to the above Thomas, to Walter Buchanan, son to the said William. I find this William, who may be accounted ancestor of the present family of Ballat, mentioned in a discharge for five hundred merks Scots, by Semple of Craigbat to Buchanan of Arnpryor, for which it seems this William was cautioner, the date of which discharge was in the year 1576. That which clears the conveyance of the tack of Ballat by Carbeth, is a submission betwixt Thomas Buchanan of Carbeth and Walter Buchanan in Easter Ballat, who refer any difference betwixt them in relation to Ballat to the determination of John Buchanan in Ballacondachy, John MacLauchlan of Auchintroig, and Duncan Buchanan of Brachern, upon Carbeth's part; and William Buchanan in Baturrich, and John Buchanan, burgess in Dunbarton, his brother, with Andrew Galbraith in Tomdarroch, upon Walter in Ballat's part; with Thomas Buchanan of Drumikill, oversman. These judges decerned the said Walter to pay four hundred merks Scots to Carbeth for his pretension to Ballat, and decerned Carbeth to maintain Walter's possession of these lands, and warrant him at the hands of his brethren, and all others. This submission is dated in the year 1594, and decreet was past thereon in January, 1595, there being a great many other persons of repute present, besides parties, who all were obliged to sign by a notar. For any thing I can find, this Walter had two sons, William, who succeeded in Ballat, and Duncan,

who acquired the Duchless. William also had two sons, William his successor, and John, merchant in Stirling. William, third of that name of Ballat, had three sons, John, Walter, and Alexander. John of Ballat had four sons, William his successor, Walter, now in Ballat, John and Patrick, merchants in Glasgow. William late of Ballat's successor is John, present Ballat.

Of Duncan, the first cadet of Ballat, is descended Buchanan of Duchless, Buchanan, lately of Mid-Cashlie, Buchanan in Little Kep, with divers others. John Buchanan, merchant in Stirling, was father to Mr. John Buchanan, present minister of the gospel in Covintoun in the shire of Lanerk, who hath two sons, Mr. John, a probationer, and Mr. George, student of theology in Glasgow. Alexander and Walter, sons to William Buchanan in Ballat, had male issue; as hath also Patrick Buchanan, merchant in Glasgow, being uncle to the present Ballat; John his uncle hath no issue, nor Walter his other uncle any male issue.

The third cadet of the family of Carbeth was John, first son of the second marriage to Thomas, third of that name, of Carbeth. This John obtained the tack of Gartincaber. He had two sons, George and Walter, and two daughters, the eldest married to William Buchanan, first of Ross, the other to one MacAuslan. George had four sons, the eldest John, for whom his father acquired the lands of Blairluisk. John had two sons, George, who went to Ireland, and William. George sold Blairluisk to his brother William, now of Blairluisk,

who hath two sons, George, younger of Blairluisk, and John, merchant in England. George, who sold Blairluisk, hath four sons, John and William, who reside in the county of Tyrone, George, who resides in Munster, and Thomas, in the county of Donegall. John first of Gartincaber's second son was Walter, who had no male issue. John had an illegitimate son, Thomas, who went to Ireland, and had one son, John, whose only son, George, in Glenmaqueen, had four sons, John, William, Matthew, and George, who reside mostly in the counties of Derry and Donegall. George of Gartincaber's second son, George, was father to Thomas Buchanan in Creitchael, in Buchanan parish. He had another son, Andrew, father to George and Patrick Buchanan in Ledrish, in Buchanan parish. George's third son was Thomas, who purchased in heritage a part of Gartincaber. He had two sons, William, who acquired Ardoch in Kilmaronock parish, and George, late of Gartincaber, who left four sons, John, now of Gartincaber, Thomas, merchant in England, Dugal and Robert. George's fourth son was Andrew, who had three sons, two of these having gone to Ireland, and one residing in Drymen parish. George had also a daughter married to Andrew Buchanan of Gartachairn.

Thomas of Carbeth's second son of the second marriage was Walter, who obtained a tack of Ballendeorn in Buchanan parish. He had one son, John, who, from his low stature, was termed John Beg, or little John. His posterity reside in the parishes of Balfron and Drymen. The third son

of that marriage was William, who obtained a tack of Blairnabord in the parish of Drymen; his progeny reside mostly in Blairnabord as yet, as also in other parts of the parishes of Drymen and Buchanan. There is also one Archibald, a great grandchild of the said William, residing in good circumstances in Virginia; and there is a brother of his in the Dutch service. The fourth of these sons was Archibald, who had one son, John, a writer in Edinburgh, whose posterity, for any thing I can discover, reside in Mid-Calder. The fifth son was Robert, who had only one illegitimate son, ancestor to some Buchanans for some time in Sallochy, now in other parts of Buchanan parish.

The next cadet to these mentioned of the family of Carbeth, is Walter Buchanan, first of Boquhan, of the time and manner of whose descent off that of Carbeth I am not well assured. I find him obtain a charter from Sir John Buchanan of that ilk, of the lands of Meikle Boquhan, being designed Walter Buchanan in Drumquhassil. The said charter is dated in the year 1623. He had two sons, Thomas of Boquhan, and John, who purchased Sheneglish in Kilmaronock paroch. Thomas of Boquhan had one son who left issue, being Walter, who married Lennox of Branshogle's daughter, by whom he had one son, Thomas, who hath three sons, Walter, John, and George. James and William Lennox dying without issue, the interest of Branshogle fell to Thomas of Boquhan's eldest son, Walter, now in possession thereof. John of Sheneglish had four sons, Walter, who had one

son, Walter, now of Sheneglish, George, who purchased Ledrishmore, leaving one son, William, now of Ledrishmore: John's third son was James, who acquired Middle Catter: his fourth son was John, in Little Tullichewn.

The next cadet of the said family is Walter, second son to Thomas, sixth or last of that name of Carbeth. He had one son, James Buchanan, portioner of Cairnock in Dundaff.

The next cadet to this Walter is Moses Buchanan of Glyns, brother to the late John Buchanan of Carbeth. He left only one daughter, married to Denniestoun of Colgrain.

The last cadet is Moses Buchanan of Glyns, brother to the present Buchanan of Carbeth, who is married to a daughter of Mr. Archibald Govean of Drumquhassil, by whom he hath issue.

Buchanan of Carbeth bears Buchanan; and for distinction, a dagger in the lion's dexter paw, pointed upward, or towards the chief, proper. For crest, a helmet suiting his station, Motto, *Audacia et Industria.*

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

FAMILY OF LENNY.

THIS family of LENNY is descended from the most ancient cadet which came off the family of Buchanan; and although by that means the most remote from the principal family, is nevertheless preferable to some other cadets of later extract, in regard that Lenny descended at two different times of Buchanan, of which the first being son to Buchanan, married the heiress of Lenny, as did the laird of Buchanan a second heiress; as also in regard Buchanan, now of Lenny, represents the old family of Lenny of that ilk, which is reported to have been a family of good repute, as far as tradition may be relied on. But there are as few documents relating to, as there are men of, that old family extant in this age, to clear this, or any other matter concerning the same. I have perused a genealogical manuscript of that family in the laird of Lenny's hands, which asserts, that the

Lennys, while owners of that estate, had no charters of the same, but a large sword, with which, it seems, he who first of that name acquired these lands had performed some signal achievement, being a means of his first advancement. This, and a relic, being one of St. Fillan's teeth, were held in such veneration, that whoever had those two in possession, presumed he had a very good right to that estate. A tenure much like to that which is recorded of the estate of Arundel in England, that in old times, whoever, by whatsoever means, obtained possession of Arundel castle, was instantly acknowledged to have a sufficient title to that estate. Nor was this case of Lenny any way singular; a great many others in these more ancient times being circumstantiate after the same manner, as judging it a derogation to solicit for, or in the least rely upon, written evidents for security of the possession of their estates, and far more honourable, and suitable to their inclinations, to maintain their possession by their sword, by whatever means acquired. As this symbolical charter of St. Fillan's tooth was a relic much esteemed by the ancient lairds of Lenny; so another relic of the same saint, being one of his hands embalmed, was no less valued by some of our Scottish kings, in those times of ignorance and superstition; it being recorded of this last by some of our historians, that the night before the battle of Bannockburn, the Scottish nobles and principal officers having a conference with king Robert Bruce concerning the manner of ordering the battle next day, and being solicitous of the event, in regard of the greatness

of the English army, being more than quadruple the number of theirs, suddenly a silver box, which was in a coffer in the tent, gave a very great clink; whereupon the king's chaplain ran to the box, and finding St. Fillan's hand therein, being ordinarily kept in that box, however, cried there was a great miracle wrought, in regard he had left the hand in the king's palace in Dunfermline, having taken only with him the empty box, lest that precious relic should by some misadventure be lost, and that at that instant the hand had miraculously of its own accord come, and inclosed itself in the box, which, in his opinion, presaged good success to king Robert and his army in the ensuing battle. This miracle, though invented by the ready wit of the chaplain, being divulged through the army, added no less courage than hope to them of the prosperous event of the approaching engagement.

The first son of the laird of Buchanan I find upon record, who married the heiress of Lenny, was Allan, second son to Gilbert, laird of Buchanan, in the reign of king Alexander III. There is no charter, or other document in Lenny's hands, that any manner does testify this first marriage; any discovery I obtained thereof, being collected from an ancient manuscript register of the earl of Lennox's, and his vassal's charters, among the records of Dunbartonshire, in which I found a charter by Malcolm, earl of Lennox, upon resignation of Allan of Lenny, in the earl's hands of the lands of Drumquhassil, in favour of John, son to the said Allan, for payment of four pennies of blench-duty if demanded. This charter (as do divers other old

ones) wants date, but by a subsequent charter is found to be in the reign of king Alexander III., as appears by a charter by Gilmichael M'Edolf of Wester Cameron, termed therein Cameron Timpane, to Malcolm M'Edolf, his son, of the lands of Gartachorrans, dated in the year 1247, in which charter Allan is one of the witnesses, by designation of Allan Buchanan de Lenny. Drumquhassil seems to have been the patrimonial estate got by this Allan, at the time he came off the family of Buchanan, or from his father, at the time of his marriage with the heiress of Lenny.

Allan's successor, as is evident by the above charter, was called John, whose successor was named Walter, as seems to appear by letters of compromise, or pacification betwixt Maurice and John Drummond, and Alexander Monteath and others of that name, for the slaughter of William, John and James Monteaths, brethren to the said Alexander by these Drummonds. Among others whom the Monteaths include of their friends, in the said letters, is mentioned Walter Buchanan, their uncle, who behoved to be either laird of Buchanan or Lenny, in regard there were not any other families of note, of the families of Buchanan extant in that age, except those of Buchanan and Lenny. But the traditional account most generally asserted, is, that the said John's son was called also John, who had a son, his successor of the same name; which last John, having no male issue, Janet, his daughter and heiress, was married to John, the second of that name, laird of Buchanan, as testifies a charter in the public archives by king Robert III., in fa-

vour of John de Buchanan, and Janet de Lenny, his spouse, of the barony of Pitwhonidy, dated in the year 1393. These lands of Pitwhonidy, seem to have been a part of Buchanan's old estate, in regard there is no evident relating thereto, extant before this one granted in favour of Buchanan, nor is there is so much as any traditional account, of any lands belonging to the old family of Lenny, except those of that name in Perthshire, and a part of those so designed in Mid-Lothian. I was for some time surprised at Lenny's retaining the name of Buchanan, and not rather having assumed the surname and arms of Lenny; but observe the reason to be very plain, that the laird of Buchanan, having married the second heiress of Lenny, would not upon that account, change his surname; and John, his third son, who succeeded to that estate, being always termed Buchanan during his father's lifetime, neglected to assume that of Lenny, as did his successors in all time thereafter, partly moved thereto as is reported, by some disobligation put upon them by the survivors of the name of Lenny. By the death of John, laird of Buchanan's eldest son at the battle of Vernoil, and in consequence thereof, by Walter, the second son's succeeding to the estate of Buchanan, the estate of Lenny was conveyed in favour of John, the third son, ordinarily designed John of Ballacondachy, being a farm room in the barony of Buchanan, given by his father to him for patrimony, before the estate of Lenny was conveyed in his favour. Though this John of Ballacondachy continued the line of present lairds and family of Lenny, and as such

is mentioned in the genealogical tree of the family of Buchanan, yet neither by this, nor any other evident in Lenny's hands, can there be an account obtained of this John's marriage, nor whether at Allan Buchanan, his first son's marriage with the heiress of Lenny, or at Buchanan's marriage with the second heiress of the same, Keir married the coheiress, and with her obtained the half of the estate; that marriage of Keir by the traditional account, and with much more probability, seeming to have been at the first of these two junctures. Neither is it evident by any document I could find in Lenny's hands, by what means Keir obtained the superiority of Lenny's half of that estate, in regard of his being married (as is generally reported) to the younger of the sisters, or coheiresses. All that is offered for clearing of this point, being a traditional narration, that Walter, laird of Lenny, in the beginning of the reign of king James IV., had committed some frivolous crime, which was construed in these times to be a kind of sacrilege, for which being cited before the next ecclesiastical judge, he disobeyed all citations given upon that account, till in the end, being excommunicated for his contumacy, he was thereafter delated to the civil magistrate; but giving as little obedience to the one, as to the other, he was prosecuted with the utmost rigour, being not only denounced rebel, but, as is reported, also forfeited, the gift of which, or more probably, of Lenny's life-rent escheat, was purchased by Keir, who reaped no advantage thereby, Lenny retaining possession of his estate by force, till in the end, one Shaw of Camsmore, an in-

timate comrade of Lenny's, was influenced (as the story goes) by Keir either to apprehend, or kill Lenny. Shaw, judging the first somewhat impracticable, resolved upon the last method, which he performed while at the hunting with Lenny, by stabbing him behind his back and killing him. After which Keir obtained possession of Lenny's estate, which he did not enjoy long. For Shaw, meeting Lenny's lady and children upon a time, in a very mean condition, and the lady upbraiding him with her husband's murder, he was possessed with such horror of the fact, and detestation of Keir, his influencer, as put him upon the resolution of expiating Lenny's murder by that of Keir, which he accordingly performed by killing of Keir, as he met him occasionally near Stirling. After which Keir's and Lenny's successors adjusted the matter so, that upon Lenny's holding his estate of Keir, he should pass from any other demand he had upon the same, which being then agreed to, continues so to this day.

John, first laird of Lenny, of the second line, and ancestor to the present Lenny, was succeeded by Andrew, his son, as appears by * charter by James II., in the year 1458, in favour of the said Andrew Buchanan of Lenny, of the barony of Pitwhonidy, with the lands of Culenchard and Leduńchard in life-rent, and to John Buchanan, his son in fee, and to their heirs-male; which failing, to Walter Patrick Buchanan of that ilk, his other son, and his heirs-male; which failing, to Archibald,

* Charta penes Buchanan de Lenny.

Walter, George and Gilbert, Lenny's other sons, and their heirs-male; which failing, to Lenny's other heirs whatsoever: a very strange kind of a tailzie; Buchanan, and two of his sons, though he and Lenny were but cousin-germans, being preferred in that charter of tailzie to four of Lenny's sons, and his brother, if these last mentioned were legitimate. At what time these lands contained in the above charter went off from that family, cannot be determined, neither is there any necessity of inserting any more of the charters of that family, some of the immediate successors of Andrew last mentioned, not being entered; so that any charters which are extant of some of the latter lairds, are so very late as there is not the least occasion of mentioning them. I shall therefore give account of the laird's marriages, and of the cadets of that family, as mentioned in a manuscript collected from the charters, and other documents in the hands of Lenny, with a genealogical tree of his family, composed from that manuscript, it being asserted by both, that Andrew, second laird of Lenny, was married to a daughter of Lockhart of Barr, by whom he had John, his successor. He had also other four sons, Archibald, Walter, George and Gilbert.

John, third laird of Lenny, was married to Mushet of Burnbank's daughter, and had by her Patrick, his successor; which Patrick, married Semple of Fulwood's daughter, by whom he had Walter, his successor, who was killed by Shaw of Camsmore. He married a daughter of Haldan, laird of Glenegeis, by whom he had John, his suc-

cessor, who married the earl of Monteath's daughter. This John, in company with Patrick, second of that name, laird of Buchanan, with a good many others of best account of his name, was killed at the battle of Flowdon, *anno* 1513.

To John, succeeded Robert, who was first married to Graham of Inchbrachie's daughter, relict of the laird of Ardkinglass. He had for second lady, Mushet of Burnbank's daughter.

Robert, first of that name, laird of Lenny, was succeeded by Robert, the second of that name, who was married to Stirling of Ardoch's daughter, by whom he had Robert, his successor, and John, his second son, grandfather to the present Lenny.

Robert, third of that name, laird of Lenny, was married to a daughter of Campbel of Lawers, by whom he had one son, Robert, who died unmarried, and one daughter, married to captain Archibald Campbel, son to the laird of Dunstafnage, being mother to doctor John Campbel of Torry.

Robert, the second of that name, had also another daughter, who was married to Mr. Donald Campbel, a son of the above-mentioned family, who had nine daughters, the eldest of which was married to baron M'Corcadel, the second to M'Dugal of Gallanach, the third to M'Lachlan of Kilchoan, the fourth to M'Lean of Shouna, the fifth to Campbel of Inchdrenich, the sixth to Campbel of Fasnacloich, the seventh to Campbel of Fincrocan, the eighth to Reid of Achaorran, the ninth to Campbel of Fevard.

Robert, last of that name, laird of Lenny, dying without issue, he was succeeded by John Buchan-

an, his cousin-german, son to John Buchanan, second son to Robert, second of that name, laird of Lenny, his mother being Stirling of Ardoch's daughter. John, laird of Lenny last mentioned, married the laird of M'Pharlan's daughter, by whom he had two sons, John, his eldest son, married Lennox of Woodhead's daughter, and died without issue. His second son was Henry, who upon his brother's death succeeded to the estate of Lenny. He was first married to a second daughter of Buchanan of that ilk. He married secondly a daughter of Campbel of Lawers, having by both a numerous issue.

The first cadet of the family of Lenny, according to the genealogical manuscript of that family, was Walter, third son to Andrew, laird of Lenny. This Walter obtained a beneficial tack of Mochastel in Callander paroch, from Balfour, lord Burleigh's ancestor, then proprietor thereof. Walter's son was called Andrew, whose son Patrick, had one son, Alexander.

This Alexander had two sons, John his eldest, and Walter, who obtained from his father the wedset or feu-right of the lands of Glenny in Monteath, his eldest brother, John, having preferred the tack of Mochastel to the heritage of Glenny, possessed the same, allowing his brother that of Glenny. The last of that race who possessed the same, was captain James Buchanan, grandchild to the above Walter, who lived a good part of his time, and died a captain in Douglass's regiment in France, being never married, he sold his interest of Glenny to Walter Graham of Gartmor's family.

Captain James had an uncle called Alexander, who obtained from Cuningham of Drumquhassil, a beneficial tack of the lands of Gartachairn in Drymen paroch.

This Alexander had two sons, Andrew, who feued Gartachairn from my lord Napier, then proprietor thereof, and George. Andrew of Gartachairn had two sons, Alexander his successor, and George, late bailie in Glasgow. Alexander of Gartachairn had three sons, George, now of Gartachairn, Thomas Buchanan, maltman in Glasgow, and Andrew, tailor in the said town. Bailie George had four sons, George, his eldest son, maltman, Andrew, Neil, and Archibald, merchants in Glasgow.

George, second son to Alexander, first in Gartachairn, had three sons, John, who went abroad, Alexander, and William, residing in Edinburgh.

John in Mochastel, had two sons, Robert, his eldest, and Archibald, ancestor to Buchanan of Torry, Robert had one son, Walter, who had two sons, John, and Arthur. John, the eldest, sold his tack of Mochastel, and acquired afterwards the lands of Arnpryor, Straithyre, and a part of the lands of Buchanan. He had one son, Mr. Robert, who had also one son, Francis Buchanan, present Arnpryor.

Walter in Mochastel's second son, Arthur, purchased the lands of Auchlessy. He had six sons that came to age, the eldest, John, who went abroad; the second, James, now of Auchlessy; the third, Walter, now Caornach; the fourth, Robert, who left one son, James, maltman in Dumblain; the

fifth, George, who left no issue; the sixth, Alexander of Dullater, residing at present in his ancestor's old possession, Mochastel.

John, first of that name, in Mochastel's second son, Archibald, had two sons, John of Torry, and Robert, who was killed by the English, and left one son, Archibald. John of Torry had two sons, Archibald of Torry, and Robert. Archibald of Torry had three sons, John, present Torry; Archibald, who left no issue; and Andrew who had one son, James. John of Torry's second son, Robert, had five sons that came to age, the eldest whereof, is John of Greathil, in St. Ninian paroch. His other sons were Archibald, Charles, Alexander, and Duncan. There are also of the family of Mochastel, some of the Buchanans residing in Straithyre, with others in the parishes of Calender and Kilmadock.

The second cadet of Lenny's family, was John Moir, or meikle John, ancestor to doctor John Buchanan, who left no issue, and to John Buchanan in Toddleburn, with divers others about Dumblain, and Straithallan.

The third cadet of Lenny's family is Sir John of Scotscraig, second son to Robert, first of that name, laird of Lenny. His estate of Scotscraig went with a daughter of his, to a son of the earl of Marr, and since has been conveyed to divers others.

The same Robert had a third son, James, merchant in Edinburgh, who purchased the estate of Shirrahal in Orkney. He had one son, Thomas, who sold Shirrahal, and had three sons, Arthur for whom he purchased the estate of Sound; John, for whom he acquired the estate of Sandside; and

William, to whom he left the estate of Russland; all whose progeny is extinct, except one daughter, left by Thomas, late of Sandside, being heiress of that estate.

By any account I could obtain from the two sons of Robert, second of that name, laird of Lenny, are descended the greatest part of these Buchanans, residing in the parishes of Campsy and Bathernock. One of these two sons, whose name was John, having first settled in Bancleroch, now Kirktoun in Campsy parish, and having gone thence to Bankier, had three sons, whereof the eldest was Gilbert, whose posterity continue in and near Bankier, his second son, was William, who came to Blairsketh in Bathernock. This William had a son of the same name, father to William Buchanan, merchant in Glasgow, and Gilbert Buchanan of Bankel, present dean of guild in Glasgow.

There is also descended off this family, Walter Buchanan, late of Orchard, who dying without heirs-male, his interest devolved upon his eldest daughter, and was conveyed by her, to William Atkin, merchant in Glasgow, her husband, and now proprietor thereof. Orchard had another daughter, married to Andrew Gray of Christoun, near Glasgow; another to Robert Alexander, merchant, and late bailie in Glasgow; and another, unmarried.

There are cadets of Lenny's family of a late extract, called Alexander Roye's progeny, being only a small number of the vulgar sort, residing for the most part in Callender parish.

The above-mentioned being all the cadets, according to the manuscript frequently spoken of,

or any other documents I could obtain, descended off the family of Lenny, who retain the surname of Buchanan, I shall in the next place mention those of other denominations descended of the same.

The first, and most considerable of this last sort, are the Macwatties. The ancestor of these was Walter, son to John, second of that name, laird of Lenny. This Walter, was ordinarily termed Wattie in Callintuy, being the name of the place of his residence. He had a son called John, who came to the Lennox, and resided in the parish of Luss. John, according to the ordinary custom of those, and even of the present times among the Highlanders, had his surname changed into a patronimical one, derived from his father's proper name, being thence termed John Macwattie. He having nine sons, who all had issue, was the cause of that new name's becoming in a small process of time pretty numerous. Some families of these Macwatties after the conflict of Glenfroon, having left the parish of Luss, settled in the parishes of Killearn and Strablain; these, quitting that of Macwattie, reassumed their right surname of Buchanan, and those of Lenny's family in both the above parishes, with some few in the parish of Campsy descended off these Macwatties, so many of them at least, as continued in the parish of Luss, and other Highland places, retain the surname of Macwattie yet, the principal person of these, being Alexander Macwattie in Glenmacoirn, in Luss parish. There are some of these Macwatties in the shire of Argyll, and in the county of Tyrone in Ireland.

The second cadet of this last sort descended of the family of Lenny, are the Macaldonichs, deriving that surname from a certain person of Lenny's family named Muldonich, being an ancient Scottish christian name, and in some parts of the Highlands in use yet, from whose name his progeny obtained the surname of Macmaldonichs, or contracted as above, and most ordinarily expressed. At what time the ancestor of these came off the family of Lenny, cannot be well determined; however, they always own themselves to be of the said family, and the more to remove any scruple thereanent, have mostly now, as did some of their friends the Macwatties, as already observed, assumed the surname of Buchanan. So that the old surname of Macaldonich will in a short time, turn into desuetude.

The last cadet of those of other denominations, descended off the family of Lenny, was the ancestor of those termed Macrobs, so denominated, from one of that family called Robert, by contraction Rob, whence his progeny obtained this surname. The number and character of these are very inconsiderable, they residing mostly in the parishes of Calender and Kilmadock, as do the Macaldonichs, mostly in the lower parts of Straithern, and Straithallan, and some other places of Perthshire. And these are all the cadets of other denominations I could discover to be descended off the family of Lenny.

The armorial bearing of Buchanan of Lenny, is Buchanan, being a lion rampant sable, armed, and langued gules, within a double tressure, flowered and counterflowered, with flower-de-luces of the

second, quartered with those of Lenny, being sable, a cheveron, betwixt two bear heads erazed in chief, and a boar head as the former in base, argent; muzzled gules; on the chief point of the cheveron, a cinque foil of the first; first and third, Buchanan; second and fourth, Lenny. Crest, a helmet suiting his quality. Motto, *Nobilis est Ira Leonis.*

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

FAMILY OF AUCHNEIVEN.

THE first of this family was John, third son to Gilbert, laird of Buchanan, who first assumed the surname of Buchanan, whose eldest son was Sir Maurice, his second Allan, first of Lenny, and the third John, first of Stainiflet, who is inserted witness in a charter, by Malcolm, earl of Lennox, to Patrick Lindsay, of the lands of Bonneil. He is also, with John Napier of Kilmahew, Allan of Faslane, father to Walter of Faslane, afterward lord of Lennox, and Maurice Galbraith, witness to a charter, by the same earl, to the said Patrick, of his being tosheagor, or principal forrester, of Lennox. * And though these charters want dates, yet, by comparing them with those having dates,

* Chartulary of Dunbartonshire.

granted to some of these witnesses themselves, and others in which they were witnesses, they are found to be in the latter part of the reign of king Alexander III. So that Gilbert, being the very first found by any manner of record to have assumed the name of Buchanan, and he having flourished in the latter part of the reign of king Alexander II. and a good part of the reign of king Alexander III. in which last the above-mentioned John is inserted witness by designation of Buchanan, he cannot, with any shadow of reason, be presumed any other than son to the said Gilbert, it being clear to a demonstration, there were no others designed by that surname at that time, but himself and his children; all others descended before, as the MacAuselans, MacMillans, and MacColmans, having either retained the ancient surname, or assumed others, in use at this present time. And as it is fully evident, the ancestor of this family was a son of the laird of Buchanan, by the continued acquiescence of the lairds of Buchanan, although there were no other evidence to that purpose; so hence it appears, that the pretension of AUCHNEIVEN's being a cadet of Lenny, can by no means be admitted, in regard Allan, who first married the heiress of Lenny, and the above-mentioned John were cotemporaries, and both witnesses in the charter mentioned, and some others, by designations not in the least insinuating any thing as the latter's being either son or cadet of the former. Auchneiven's ancestor seems to have possessed a considerable interest in Dunbartonshire, being not only proprietor of Stainiflet, Auchin-

reoch, and some other moor lands near the town of Dunbarton, but also of a great deal of ground next adjacent to the town itself, known as yet by the name of Buchanan's Aikers; likewise a part of the ground upon which many of the houses of that town are built, there being paid ground-mail for the same by the builders and possessors. Those lands continued with this family till about the year 1590, when John Buchanan of Stainiflet sold them with all his other interest in and about Dunbarton, being mostly now in possession of Sir James Smollet, as are also the most ancient evidents that pertained to that family; all now in custody of the present Auchneiven, being only the evidents of Auchneiven and Lecher, of a more modern date than those of Stainiflet.

The first of those of Lecher I find upon record, is a resignation, by Neil MacIlroy, heritor thereof, of the lands of Lecher and pertinents, to George Buchanan of Stainiflet, dated in the year 1482. The said right, with that of the lands of Ibert, for good service done, and to be done, was confirmed to the said George by William, lord Graham, in the year 1489.

George's successor was Patrick, whose successor was called Thomas, as appears by charter of the two parts of Lecher, by William, earl of Montrose, to Thomas Buchanan, son and heir to the deceased Patrick Buchanan of Stainiflet, and Elizabeth Edmonstone, daughter to the laird of Duntreath, his spouse, in life-rent, and their heirs, in fee, dated in the year 1558.

Thomas's successor was John, who sold Stainiflet, as appears by precept of *Clare Constat*, in his favour, as heir to Thomas his father, by John, earl of Montrose, of the lands of Lecher, dated in the year 1581. This John had two sons, Walter his successor, and Dugal, who went to Ireland, some of whose posterity having returned, reside at Linlithgow and Queensferry; and others remained in Ireland. Of this Dugal is descended William Buchanan, gardener in Glasgow.

To John succeeded Walter, who was married to Edmonstone of Balleun's daughter, as appears by a seasin in her favour, in life-rent, of the lands of Lecher, by John Buchanan, father to this Walter, dated in the year 1628, by whom he had John his successor, as is clear by charter in his favour, by James, earl of Montrose, afterward marquis, of an annuity of three chalder of victual, payable, irredeemably, out of the lands of Auchneiven, dated in the year 1630; as also a precept of *Clare Constat*, by James, marquis of Montrose, with seasin thereon, to the above-mentioned John, of the lands of Auchneiven, dated *anno* 1668. Walter of Auchneiven's second son was Walter, late deacon of the bakers in Glasgow, who had four sons, John Buchanan, merchant in Glasgow, Walter, maltman there, George, baker there, and Thomas Buchanan, master of a ship belonging to the said town. He had also two daughters, Marion, married to Robert Graham, merchant in Glasgow, and Janet, married to George Currie, merchant in that city. John of Auchneiven was

married to Elizabeth Crawfurd, daughter to John Crawfurd, portioner of Partick. He had by her John his successor, and Walter Buchanan, writer in Glasgow, who acquired the lands of Teucherhill in the parish of Meikle Govan.

John of Auchneiven last-mentioned was married to Graham of Killearn's daughter, and had by her one son, John Buchanan, present Auchneiven, who is married to Graham of Killearn's daughter; and one daughter unmarried.

The Buchanans of the third of Lecher are cadets of Auchneiven; as also John Buchanan, baker, and late deacon convener in Glasgow, father to John Buchanan, late deacon of the bakers there, who had three daughters, the eldest married to William Anderson, merchant in Glasgow, the second to George Danzeil, wright in the said town, the third to Mr. Robert Buchanan of Arnpryor, whose daughter is married to the laird of Bardowie.

Also the ancestor of those Buchanans lately in Borland, now in other parts of Buchanan paroch, was a cadet of this family. James Buchanan, uncle to these last-mentioned, went to Ireland in the beginning of the reign of king Charles II. John, eldest son to the said James, being a person of good parts and education, became lord mayor of Dublin, and upon that account obtained the honour of Knighthood; he purchased a good estate near that city, of which his son is now in possession, who, with some other sons of his, and a brother, and others of this family, resides in Leinster, and other places of that kingdom.

The latest cadet of Auchneiven's family is John, son to the deceast Walter Buchanan, writer in Glasgow, being the present Auchneiven's cousin-german, and present proprietor of Teucherhill.

A

BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF

BUCHANAN OF MILTOUN;

ALSO OF

BUCHANAN OF CASHILL, ARDUILL, AND SALLOCHIE.

ALTHOUGH the descent of the ancestors of those I am to treat of in this place be more late off the family of Buchanan than that of some others already mentioned, nevertheless, having obtained no manner of written document tending to the illustration of their descent, but only a traditional account of the same, by which means there cannot be very much advanced concerning them; I have chosen for that reason, not only to treat of them jointly, but also to place the account of them after that of others, whose descent can be cleared by written, and therefore more convincing, documents, or authorities.

As for the family of MILTOUN, neither I nor any other of the name of Buchanan I had ever occasion of conversing with, had the least knowledge of, or correspondence with, any such family; all found upon record concerning the same, being a description or blazon of the armorial bearing of Mr. Patrick Buchanan, son to Buchanan of Miltoun, a cadet of Buchanan of that ilk, mentioned in Mr. Nisbet's Treatise of Heraldry, lately published, in which is given no manner of account of that family's genealogy, but only what relates to the above-mentioned gentleman's bearing, as a cadet thereof. So that all I can offer concerning this family is founded upon a traditional account I had from a certain gentleman, who was an officer in the laird of Buchanan's regiment in the year 1645, at which time that regiment being in garrison in Inverness, one Colin Buchanan of Miltoun of Peatty, a gentleman of good repute, and whose interest lay within a few miles of the town of Inverness, kept very much correspondence with Buchanan and his officers, while in garrison in that town. He was descended, by any thing can be collected from any account given then out, of Maurice Buchanan's son, who was treasurer to the dauphiness of France, in the reign of king James I. And though there can be no account had of any of that family's having correspondence with any other of their name in these more southern parts, in which the same is most numerous these many years bygone, nevertheless, it is very presumeable this family is still in being; at least it seems, by their arms, to have been so not long

ago, it being evident the late laird of Buchanan changed his motto from *Audaces juvo*, into *Clarior hinc Honos*, in the latter part of his time, to which last that of Mr. Buchanan, Miltoun's son, plainly alludes, his bearing being Buchanan, within a double border, gules, charged with eight crescents, argent, with a rose in crest, sliped, gules; motto *Ducitur hinc Honos*. The Buchanans of the isle of Sky seem to be descended of Miltoun.

The ancestor of the Buchanans of CASHILL was always reputed an immediate cadet of the family of Buchanan; the first of these having obtained the lands of Cashill from the laird of Buchanan, by which that family was designed, and retained possession thereof for some ages, until about the latter part of the reign of queen Mary, Robert Buchanan of Cashill, and Walter Buchanan his son, fell at variance with Thomas Buchanan in Arduill, their kinsman and neighbour, in which contest the said Thomas and his son Duncan were both killed by those of Cashill, for which cause the laird of Buchanan dispossessed them of Cashill; whereupon Walter, Robert's eldest son, went to Ireland, where divers of his posterity remain yet. One of these having come thence, and settled in Argyllshire, was ancestor to William Buchanan of Glens, who hath brethren, and some other relations in that country. William's two sons are, John Buchanan, younger, merchant in Glasgow, and James, merchant in Tarbet. Robert of Cashill had another son, who went to Braidalbin, and was officer to one of the lairds of Glenorchy, the present earl of Braidalbin's ancestor, from which office his

posterity were termed MacAmhaoirs, or officer's sons, of which there were some lately in Buchanan parish, but now extinct. There are others of that name yet in Braidalbin, but they maintain no correspondence with the name of Buchanan.

The ancestor of the Buchanans in ARDUILL was Robert Coich, or mad Robert, well known to be son to Patrick, second of that name laird of Buchanan, in the reign of king James IV., as by uncontroverted tradition is asserted. He was, upon account of his passionate or precipitant temper, termed Coich, or mad, more especially from two mad adventures of his. The first of which was, his being engaged, under a great penalty, to present a certain malefactor to the laird of Buchanan, and the person to be presented dying before the prefixed time of presentation, mad Robert's surety was charged to pay the penalty; whereupon he went to the place where the principal was interred, and having digged up his corps, carried the same, and threw it upon the court table before the laird and company, protesting thereupon to be free of the penalty for non-production. The laird, and others present, being somewhat surprised at this uncommon action, frankly acquitted the penalty, lest a greater inconveniency might ensue upon refusal. The second of mad Robert's adventures was, his killing a gentleman who belonged to the lord Graham, for no other reason, but that the said gentleman, by his lord's orders, was going to uplift the rents of certain lands in the upper part of Buchanan parish, then belonging to the lord Graham, and which Robert disdained should be

possessed by any other than a Buchanan, it being contiguous to their estate.

The lord Graham, justly incensed at this action, had recourse to Buchanan for reparation, which seeing not very practicable to be had of the actor, and Buchanan having satisfied my lord of his not being accessory to that affair, my lord was obliged for preventing future inconveniences, to make an exchange of the lands in Buchanan parish, with those of Bamoir, lying near to his other estate, and which then pertained to Buchanan.

Mad Robert had only one son, called Patrick, who, as his father had that of Coich, had the nickname of Courrui, or champion; the reason of giving that epithet to him being this; the families of Argyll and Buchanan being at variance in this Patrick's time, Argyll and Buchanan, each of them attended with a select party of horsemen, according to the custom of these times, met accidentally at Cramond water, the one coming from, the other going for, Edinburgh; these two parties standing upon each bank of the river, and neither of them adventuring to enter the same; at length Patrick Buchanan, mad Robert's son, couching his spear, and setting spurs to his horse, jumped boldly with no little noise into the river, and past through, Buchanan with his party following him. Upon which Argyll's party stood a little aside, and left the passage clear. Upon Patrick's jumping into the water, Argyll said in Irish to the laird of Kilmartin, who stood next him, "By St. Martin that is a massy champion," in Irish Courrui, whence Patrick was always termed afterwards the Courrui, or cham-

pion. He had four sons, Finlay, Alexander, Thomas, and Patrick. Of Finlay, the eldest of these, are descended Alexander Buchanan, father to James Buchanan, now of Cremannan, who, with his sons, resides in Ireland; Mr. James Buchanan, who purchased the lands of Cremannan, and having no issue, disponed those lands to the present James of Cremannan his nephew. The Buchanans, possessors for a long time of Blairour in Drymen parish, of which John Buchanan in Easter Balfunning, Thomas Buchanan, stabler in Edinburgh, with some others, are also descended off the said Finlay.

Of Alexander, Patrick's second son, are descended the Buchanans, for some time possessors of Ballantone and Gaidrew of Drumquhassil.

Of Thomas the third son, are descended the Buchanans in Wester Arduill in Buchanan parish, ordinarily termed Donald MacThomas, his race.

Of Patrick, the fourth son of Patrick the Courrui, is descended Finlay Buchanan, in Laggan of Tyrconnell in Ireland, who has some brethren, and other relations of that race, residing near Rapho and some other places of that kingdom.

The Buchanans in SALLOCHY their progenitor, as those others last-mentioned, conform to any traditional account can be obtained, was an immediate cadet of the family of Buchanan, his name being Gilbert, whence his progeny were termed ordinarily MacGilberts, or Gilbertsons. The first possession given to this Gilbert was Sallochy in Buchanan parish, of which his posterity retained possession for divers generations. That family was

divided into several branches, one of these continuing in the old possession, till of late years, John, last of this branch, died without male issue.

Another branch of this family went to Kilpatrick, and settled in Forgiestoun, whose issue having spread through some other parts of Kilpatrick and Bathernock, any of them who yet exist, pretend to be of Lenny's family, seeing the greater part of the other Buchanans of these, and some neighbouring places are really of the family of Lenny. Besides those already mentioned, there are some small heritors, with divers farmers, of the name of Buchanan, in Middle and East Calder, as also near Langholm in the south country, of whose descent I could obtain no distinct account; so that I must leave the same undetermined.

Having completed (conform to what instructions I could obtain,) all I designed to treat of in relation to the family of Buchanan, and the cadets thereof, who retain that surname, I proceed next to the account of the cadets of that family, who pass under other denominations, nevertheless, are known, and own themselves to be cadets of the family of Buchanan. And though it be an inversion of the method I have hitherto used, I shall begin with the most ancient and most reputed of these.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

MACAUSELANS.

IN regard the M'AUSELANS are the only sept, or cadet of the family of Buchanan, though of another denomination, that have yet retained the ancient surname by which the family of Buchanan was denominated, I shall therefore treat of these in the first place, as being the eldest cadets, and those of that name in Scotland, and Ireland, complexly taken, of the best account of any other cadets of that family, whence they derived their origin. And though all the evidents of any considerable antiquity, which belonged to the baron M'Auselan, are long ago lost, so that all that can be obtained for illustration of the descent of that family, is a traditional account of the ancestor of the present family of M'Auselans, being a second son of one of the Auselans, generally reputed to be the first of the three so named, and who first acquired the lands of Buchanan; yet this account, though the

exact time of the M'Auselans descent cannot be so exactly known, is fully confirmed by the evidents of the family of Buchanan, by which it is clear to a demonstration, that their surname for divers ages was M'Auselan, before the assumption of that of Buchanan, and that the laird of Buchanan, as also the barons M'Auselan in all times thereafter, owned the descent of that sept of M'Auselans, to be as above related. There was indeed a groundless pretence sometime made of the baron M'Auselan's being the elder branch of the family, seeing he still retained the ancient surname, being of the same import with the like pretensions made by the families of M'Arture, now Campbel of Strachyr, and M'Pherson of Cluny; the first pretending to be descended off the family of Lochow, while Oduin, before the assumption of Campbel, the other from that of M'Cattan, before that family assumed the surname of M'Intosh, and so both the more ancient. But as these long ago upon just grounds ceded their pretensions, so also have the M'Auselans. Their estate, by any of their documents now extant, was never known to amount to more than the little interest of about twenty pounds sterling of yearly rent, possessed by the late baron M'Auselan, which seems to have been the patrimony given to the first of that family, upon his descent off M'Auselan, laird of Buchanan. Nor is the supposition less groundless, that Sir Alexander, designed M'Auselan, a knight of Lennox, who acquired the addition to the armorial bearing of Buchanan at the battle of Bauge, might probably have been baron M'Auselan, and not Buchanan; seeing the

latter surname was assumed some considerable time before that achievement; but this supposition is still further frivolous upon divers accounts, it not being probable, that a person of so little interest, could be knighted at such early times, while a great many of the best quality with difficulty obtained that honour, and if any of that family had so done, it is improbable they would have allowed Buchanan to assume these arms, without the least opposition at any time thereafter. It is also evident that the lairds of Buchanan used, and were designed by the surname of M'Auselan upon divers occasions, for a long time after the assumption of Buchanan; as for instance, in a charter by the earl of Lennox to Finlay Campsy, of a part of the lands so named, to which Maurice, laird of Buchanan, is witness by designation of M'Auselan, though grandchild to Gilbert, who first assumed Buchanan. So that it is no matter of admiration, that the monks of Pluscarden, who relate the adventure of Sir Alexander, and living at such vast distance from the place of his residence, might happen to design him by his ancient surname, and best known to them, rather than by one so lately assumed.

The first of these M'Auselans I could find upon record, is Malcolm M'Auselan, inserted witness in a charter, by Malcolm, earl of Lennox, of the lands of Luss, in favour of John, laird thereof, in the reign of king Alexander III. This Malcolm (though few or none in these old charters are fully designed) seems to have been baron M'Auselan, the lairds of Buchanan having generally disused

that of M'Auselan, before the date of this charter. I find no more of these recorded, but a traditional account of one M'Beth, baron M'Auselan, a person of uncommon stature and strength, who lived in king Robert the third's time, and seems to have been contemporary with Sir Alexander M'Auselan, or Buchanan, which makes the supposition already mentioned the more improbable; Alexander, last baron M'Auselan, having only one daughter, who was married to a gentleman of the name of Campbel, after whose death, she sold her interest to Sir Humphrey Colchoun of Luss, her superior. The remainder of the Scotch M'Auselans, reside mostly in Lennox. But the greatest number and of best account of that name, reside in the counties of Tyrone, Derry, and Down, in the north of Ireland. The ancestors of the principal men of these last, were Andrew, and John M'Auselans, sons of the baron M'Auselan, who went out of the paroch of Luss to that kingdom, in the latter part of the reign of king James VI. This Andrew had a son called Alexander, upon whom he bestowed a good education, by which means, becoming a prudent, active gentleman, he obtained a commission in the army, in time of the civil wars, in the reign of king Charles I. At the end of those wars, partly by debenture, partly by purchase, he acquired the estates of Resh and Ardstaw in the county of Tyrone. He had two sons, the eldest whereof, Oliver of Resh, was one of the most sufficient gentlemen in these parts of that kingdom. In the year 1698, he was high-sheriff of that county, and influenced most of his own name throughout the country, to settle in

and near his own estate, which at first scarce amounting to five hundred pound sterling of yearly rent, he increased in such a manner, as to leave to his son a clear estate of fifteen hundred pound *per annum*. He was twice married, and left by both a numerous issue. His successor hath a lodging in a little town called Strabane, where he ordinarily resides, and for which place he serves as member of parliament, as his father did for many years. Oliver's brother is called Andrew, having an estate called Ardocheyl, who, and a great many others of good circumstances of the name of M'Auselan, reside in the counties already mentioned.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

MACMILLANS.

NEXT in antiquity to the MacAuselans is the sept of the MacMillans; for, as the MacAuselans are generally reputed to be descended of Anselan, first of that name laird of Buchanan, so the MacMillans' progenitor is known to be second son to Anselan, the third of that name. And though the first be the more ancient, this in respect of number is by far the most considerable of any other cadet of whatever denomination. There is no document, in so far as I could discover, in the hands of any of this sept, to clear their descent off the family of Buchanan, but only an uncontroverted tradition, which asserts their ancestor to be brother to the first who assumed the surname of Buchanan. Which is the more to be relied on, in regard I find the same to agree in all respects with a written document lately found, by which that descent is clearly illustrated, by a charter, by

Malduin, earl of Lennox, to Gilmore, son of Muldonich, of the estate of Luss, in the reign of king Alexander II. in which, Anselan, laird of Buchanan, with Gilbert, his eldest son, who first assumed the surname of Buchanan, and Methlan, his second son, ancestor of the MacMillans, are inserted witnesses. So that, notwithstanding a fond opinion obtained for some time, of their obtaining that denomination from their ancestor's being bald, in Irish Maoilain, and thence MacMailans, or bald-man's sons, yet there is not the least show of reason for any such supposition, after such a clear evident for evincing the contrary, and a more probable reason of that denomination is found out. For it is clear, that MacMethlan can be no otherwise pronounced in Irish than as the MacMillans pronounce their name.

This Methlan is not found to have left his native country, but having a great many sons, one or two of these went to Kintyre, upon account of a friendship then much cultivated betwixt the families of the great MacDonald and Buchanan; the first being some small time before allied with the principal person of the O'Kyans, of which family that of Buchanan was originally descended.

By this means Methlan's sons, being Buchanan's grandchildren, met with a very kind reception from the lord MacDonald, who, for his service, allowed to one of them a considerable estate in Knapdale, in the south-west part of Kintyre, who for his heroic achievements was termed "the great MacMillan of Knap," as is asserted by an account of his family, conveyed to my hands by MacMillan

of Dunmore in Knapdale, being the principal man of that name, or sept. Who further adds, that in all times bygone, as also at present, he, and his whole sept did, and do own themselves to be descended of the family of Buchanan; and that one of his ancestors caused build a very pretty chapel in Kilmorie of Knap, for devotion and burying-place, in which there is a fine cross, with divers other figures neatly cut in stone, and a great many characters engraven thereon scarcely legible, which intimate the founder's name to have been Æneas MacMillan, who, or some of his ancestors, built a large tower in addition to Castlesuin, or MacSuin's castle, the other part of that castle, according to tradition, being built by the progenitor of the Maxwells, upon his first coming from Ireland, and settling for some time in Knapdale, being descended of the great clan MacSuin in Ireland, and then naming the castle MacSuin's castle, or Castlesuin, as now termed. It seems very probable, that upon MacSuin's leaving that country, and settling in the southern parts, his neighbour MacMillan got possession of the castle, and upon that occasion built the additional tower thereto, which he termed "MacMillan's tower," as the first was denominated from MacSuin. There is a tradition, that a brother of MacMillan, who went first from this country with him in the time of the civil wars after the death of king Alexander III. went from Argyllshire to Galloway, and settled in that country, being the progenitor of the MacMillans of Galloway. The principal man of these is MacMillan of Brockloch. There are also divers other

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heritors, and a good number of the vulgar sort of the name in that country, who acknowledge their origin to be the same with the MacMillans of Argyllshire.

The cause of the MacMillans losing the greatest part of their estate in Knapdale, is reported to have been their joining the lord MacDonald their superior, in aiding James, earl of Douglas, in that rebellion against king James II. in the year 1455. Another of Methlan's sons, being brother to MacMillan first of Knap, went to Perthshire, and settled in Lawers. This MacMillan had ten sons, whom Chalmers, then laird of Lawers, offering by force to dispossess of these lands possessed by them, could not get the same effectuated till he obtained from king David II. letters of fire and sword against them, which orders, with the assistance of the sheriff of that shire, he with the utmost difficulty put in execution, obliging most of them to abandon that country, and go to their friends in Argyllshire; whence some of these returning in process of time, obtained a part of their ancient possessions in Lawers, and were ancestors to the MacMillans (though much decayed) in Ardownaig, and other parts of Braidalbin. This account is asserted by a brieve (of which I had a transcript) obtained some years ago by one serjeant MacMillan, descended from the MacMillans of Galloway, in the gray dragoons, from one of the kings of arms in England. By this brieve it is further asserted, that it was Methlan himself that settled in Lawers, and that some of his sons went first and settled in Argyllshire, upon the said letters of fire

and sword being put in execution against
Chalmers, laird of Lawers.

A son of the great MacMillan of Kn
resided in a certain place in Kintyre, cal
chammag, having killed one Marallach
certain stranger, of great account, who ha
in these parts, and seems to have bee
oppressor of his neighbours, which ga
the contest betwixt him and his neighb
Millan; for this he was with six of hi
his associates in that action, obliged to t
and flee to Lochaber, and in this exige
ing recourse to the laird of Locheal, h
ceived into his protection, and allowed p
in his lands. These changing their su
little from MacMillan, into that of Ma
to this day retained, some small time a
settlement in Lochaber, there came one
and settled in a place called Badokenna
head of Lochfine in Argyllshire, being p
to the MacGilveils of Glenera and Glensh
others in those parts.

There was another of the family of Kn
Archibald Baan MacMillan, who having
certain man of repute, was so closely pursu
committing the slaughter, that coming by
of Argyll's residence, he was forced into
kitchen for refuge, where the cook, bei
same time baking, hastily caused MacMill
change clothes with him, and fall to bak
prevented his being apprehended, or di
by the pursuers; after which this Ma
and his progeny, assumed the surname

Bhaxters, yet retained by them. Those of this name reside mostly in Cowal in Argyllshire; the principal man of them being Nivein MacBhaxter in Glendarowal. They term themselves in English, Baxters. Whether those of that name in the more Lowland parts be of the same stem, (though it seems probable,) is more than I can positively determine.

The principal person of the MacMillans of Argyllshire, is Duncan MacMillan of Dunmore; his interest and residence is upon the south side of Lochtarbet in Knapdale, in the shire of Argyll. There are also MacMillans of Coura, and of Clochbrecks, with a very considerable number of the vulgar sort dispersed through that shire.

The MacGilveils of Lochaber are mostly planted upon both sides of Locherkek in Lochaber, and live generally under and are close dependants upon the laird of Locheal, and upon all expeditions make up a company of an hundred men, with officers, all of that sept; not reputed the worst of Locheal's regiment, being generally employed in any desperate enterprise that occurs. These had a controversy not many years ago with another sept, reckoned the most desperate in all those parts, termed MacLonvies, dependants also of Locheal; these last having murdered one of the MacGilveils, the actors being twelve in number, betook themselves to the mountains, being outlaws before, upon which some of the MacGilveils addrest Locheal, telling him, if he would not allow them to revenge this murder upon the

actors, they would destroy the whole sept without distinction. Locheal granted their request, upon condition they would only prosecute the guilty, which they so effectually did, that in a few days they either killed or brought to justice the whole number of them, having not lost one man of their own number, though divers were wounded. The principal persons of this sept are the MacGilveils of Murlagan, of Caillie, and Glenpean.

There are a great number also of the MacMillans in the parishes of Leud and Armuy in the county of Antrim, and other places of Ireland. The persons of best account of them in that kingdom, is lieutenant John MacMillan of Killre, in the county of Derry, having an estate of five hundred pound sterling, per annum; also doctor MacMillan in Lisburn, a person of good repute and circumstances; and MacMillan of Glenseise, and others.

MacMillan of Dunmore carries Buchanan, for distinction, upon a chief, parted per barr, gules, three mollets, argent.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

MACCOLMANS.

THE ancestor of the MacColmans was Colman, third son to Anselan, third of that name, and seventh laird of Buchanan, being brother to Gilbert, who first assumed the surname of Buchanan, and to Methlan, ancestor of the MacMillans. Colman was an ordinary Christian name of old in this kingdom; as, for instance, Colman, bishop of Lindisfarn in Northumberland, and afterwards abbot of Icolmkill, in the reign of king Ferquhard I. Also one of the Scottish nobility, who made an oration against concluding the league with France, in the reign of king Achaius.

The time and cause of this Colman's son's going to Argyllshire is not very evident, but it seems very probable to be in the reign of king Alexander III. within a short space of his cousin MacMillan's going into that country, whose good reception there might have been the principal mo-

tive of his cousin MacColman's following him. The only written document I find relating to the MacColmans is a charter, or life-rent-right, granted by Duncan MacPharlane, of a part of his lands, to Christian Campbell, daughter to Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow his lady, dated in the year 1395, and in the reign of king Robert III. The trustees employed by Sir Colin to see this right completed, were John Campbell, dean of Argyll, and John MacColman.

I had an account of the MacColmans transmitted to me by that judicious and learned gentleman, the reverend Mr. Alexander MacColman, minister of Lismore and Appin, which justly deserves the greater regard and credit, seeing it exactly agrees with that sent me by MacMillan of Dunmore, near the same time, in relation to his clan, as also with a written document, which came not to my hands several years after receipt of the said account. That delivered me by Mr. Alexander MacColman concerning the origin of that sept, asserts, that the ancestors of the MacMillans and MacColmans were brethren of him who first assumed the surname of Buchanan, though the same be not testified by any written document, but by a continued and inviolable tradition handed down from one generation to another, with which they are satisfied, always cheerfully acknowledging their original descent to be of the family of Buchanan, though they cannot so very distinctly tell the manner and circumstances of the same.

There is also a very great evidence of the MacColmans' blood-relation to the name of Buchanan,

from this, that notwithstanding of the great distance betwixt the respective residences of these two names, and upon that account the seldomness of their mutual converse, or correspondence with one another, yet they have the same inviolable love and entire respect for the name of Buchanan, that they have for one another of their nearest relations, although no preceding acquaintance or good offices intervene.

Moreover, although the MacColmans have resided in Mucarn, and other adjacent places in Argyllshire, upwards of four hundred years, yet they never gave any bond of Manrie, or other acknowledgement, to, or had the least dependance upon, any person or clan in these parts, though there is no other sept in the same circumstances in all those countries, but what are obliged to give some such bond or acknowledgement. The principal places in which these reside are Mucarn, and Benedera loch in Upper Lorn, in the shire of Argyll. The men of best account of them are Mr. John MacColman, son to the said Mr. Alexander, who hath a little interest in Lismore; also another Mr. John, brother to the same Mr. Alexander, who hath ten sons, all men of good repute.

Besides these, there are sixty effective men of that name in these parts.

There is another sept of these MacColmans in Kintail, in the earl of Seaforth's land, descended of one Mr. Murdo, (or, as the Irish term it,) Murcho MacColman, who went from Argyllshire into that country, near two hundred years ago. These are termed in Irish MacAmhaisdirs, or

Mastersons, but term themselves in English Murchisons, from Murcho, their ancestor's ancient name. The principal man of these is Murchison of Ouchtertyre, in the parish of Locheilg in Kintail. These term themselves Dowes when in the Lowlands, and assert the Dowes upon Forth and other places to be descended of them, which Dowe of Arnhall, the principal person of that name, in a great measure owned, there being upon that account great intimacy betwixt the late laird of Buchanan and him; but both their estates being gone to other families, through want of male issue, that correspondence betwixt the two names is ceased.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

ORIGIN OF THE SPITTELS.

THERE is no written document to evince the circumstances of the descent of the name of SPITTEL off the family of Buchanan; though an uncontroverted tradition, and a continued pretension by the family of Buchanan to the name of Spittel, and the acquiescence of the generality of that name in the pretensions made to the same, in a great measure clear the origin of the name of Spittel to be, as is generally asserted.

The ancestor of that name was son to Sir Maurice Buchanan of that ilk, who flourished in the reign of king Alexander III. The reason given of his assuming the surname of Spittel being, that he was admitted into that order of knighthood called knight-templars, or cruch-backs, which order was instituted about the eleventh century of the Christian epocha, for defence of the Christian religion, more especially of the temple and cross of

Jerusalem, which, as the Roman legend has it, was miraculously found by Helena, mother to Constantine the first Christian emperor, after much search made by her orders in and about the place of our Saviour's crucifixion. For preserving it, the empress caused a stately temple to be built at Jerusalem, and dedicated to the holy cross, whence in after ages a great many, if not innumerable, pieces were sent, by the popes of Rome, of that supposed cross, for good sums of money, to popish princes, and other potentates, insomuch that one of their own writers affirms, that if the thousand part of these pieces had been of the real cross, it would have soon broken the back of Simon of Cyrene in carrying it. However, the above order of knights was chiefly instituted for defence of that cross, and having the portraiture thereof betwixt their shoulders, upon their upper garments, they were thence termed cross-backs, or cruch-backs, and from the temple in which the cross was kept, templars. There were a vast deal of lands throughout Christendom mortified to this order, for keeping up hospitality, in entertaining such poor pilgrims, as in those days of superstition were going to the holy land, to perform their devotions; whence their order obtained the name of the hospitallers, and their lands Spittels, many of which yet retain that name. And though the templars and they seem to have been originally of one order, yet they afterwards were distinct, the templars being afterwards known by the name of knights of St. John, afterwards Rhodes, and now of Malta. However that be, the hospitallers be-

came in process of time so scandalous for their wicked lives, that the pope, upon pretence thereof, or, as some say, instigated by Philip the Fair, king of France, who had formed a design of getting his sons invested in a great part of these knights' lands, in the year 1330, sent his positive orders, or bulls, to exterminate this whole order, and sequestrate their lands. These orders were for most part observed, most of these knights being, without mercy, put to the sword, except such as were preserved by some potent friends. The pope shortly repenting his orders in giving so many lands, devoted once for sacred, to be now bestowed on secular uses, recalled his promise of giving the same to the French king and others, and thereafter mortified these lands to the knights of St. John above-mentioned. Nevertheless, a great part of these lands, in despite of all the pope could do, were kept by those laicks who first seized the same, upon the extinction of the hospitallers.

Among others who kept their part, was this son of Buchanan, who, from these Spittel lands possessed by him, assumed the surname of Spittel, (his son being Adam Spittel of Ledlewans,) besides which, he had Easter Baleun, Blairwhoish, and other lands in the parishes of Strathblane and Killearn, being a considerable estate with the Spittel lands. All which, having made a purchase, as it would seem, of some other place, the said Adam Spittel disponed in favour of his cousin Walter, laird of Buchanan, by charter, dated in the year 1394, and fourth year of the reign of king Robert III.

This Adam was ancestor to Spittel of Leuchart in Fife, which family, since that of Buchanan was extinct, has kept no manner of correspondence with any of the name, so that neither by perusal of any of his evidences, nor by converse with the gentleman himself, could I have the opportunity of obtaining a distinct account of the time and manner of his acquiring his present estate, nor the reason of his omitting to marshall any part of Buchanan's armorial bearing with that he now bears. The most obvious reason to me of his so doing is, that his predecessor being in orders, and by that means prohibited an armorial bearing, his successors, if they acquired their estate by marriage, assumed those of the family they matched into; if by purchase, arms most suitable to their own inclination. Spittel of Leuchart, being a gentleman of a good estate in the shire of Fife, is the principal person of that sept; there being, besides those in Fife, divers of that name in the Straith of Monteath, and other places of this kingdom.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

ORIGIN OF THE MACMAURICES, MACANDEOIRS, MACCHRUITERS, AND MACGREUSICHS.

THERE are two several septs of these MACMAURICES, descended off the family of Buchanan at two different junctures of time. The ancestor of the first of these septs, for any thing can be found, was an illegitimate son of Maurice, second of that name, laird of Buchanan, in the latter part of the reign of king Robert I., and beginning of king David II. The first of these I find upon record, is Arthur M'Maurice, being witness in a charter by Eugen M'Kessan of Garchel, in favour of Celestin M'Lachlan, and Arthur M'Neil, of that part of the estate of Garchel, called Auchintroig, Gartclach, &c. in the reign of king Robert III. Those of this race reside mostly in the heads of Straithern, and Straithallan, and a few of them in the parish of Callender. The other sept of these

M'Maurices, is descended of one stooping Maurice, illegitimate son to Walter, fourth of that name, laird of Buchanan, in the reign of king James III. This Maurice is reported to have been of a very huge stature, but withall so very coarse and unhandsome, as gave occasion for his being little regarded; so that in the time of king James IV., the laird of Buchanan, with most of his name, having gone to the battle of Flowdon, left Maurice, with some other invalids to oversee affairs at home; there being at that time, some feud or variance betwixt M'Kenzie, laird of Kintail and Buchanan. Kintail thought this a fit time to carry on the same, and sending for that effect, one Kenneth M'Kenzie, a brother, or some other near relation of his own, with eighty men to harass Buchanan's lands, these came to a hill betwixt Drymen and Buchanan, in sight of the latter, and being fatigued, lay down among the heather to take some little repose. Meanwhile, Maurice, getting some notice of the advance of his party, went to get surer intelligence, and passing accidentally near the hill in which the party lay, Kenneth, the captain, observing him, went alone to him, to get information of the state of the country. Maurice seeming to take little notice of him, went still on, giving no satisfactory answer to any of his demands; which at length so exasperated M'Kenzie, that he gave Maurice a stroke with his sword, not being at the trouble of drawing the same; which was no sooner done, than Maurice gave him such a stroke with his battle-ax, as clave his head to the teeth, whereupon he returned instantly to Buchanan, and alarmed the country.

The party in a little time awakening, and finding their captain in that bad posture, returned with all speed back without doing the least violence. The place where this action was done, yet retains the name of Kenneth's plain. A grandchild of this Maurice, having killed a servant of my lord Glencairn, who resided in Kilmaronock, was obliged to leave his native country of Buchanan, and go to the village of Scoon, north of Tay. His posterity in these parts, are termed Morreises, or Morisons. Some of these came thence, and settled upon Forth, betwixt Stirling and Culross, of whom are descended most of the Morisons in those parts. There are also some of this last sept in the parish of Buchanan, who retain their ancient name of M'Maurice, but very few in number.

The ancestor of the sept of the MacAndeoirs, is also reputed a cadet of the family, being reported to be a man of prudence and sagacity, who went to Argyllshire, along with Walter laird of Buchanan's daughter, married in the reign of king James III., to Campbel, laird of Ardkinglass; who, in regard there was no other of his surname in that country, was thence termed Deoir, or a sojourner, whence his posterity were termed M'Andeoirs. This sept reside mostly in a place called Arskeotnish, near the village of Kilmichael in Glasrie, as also upon the side of Lochow, in M'Lachlan of Inchchonnel's lands. The principal person of these, is M'Andeoir of Kilchoan, near Kilmichael in Glasrie. These are dependants of the laird of Ardkinglass, seeing their ancestor went first there with his lady.

The MacChruiters were of a long time reputed Buchanans, having for divers ages resided in these lands, in the upper parts of the parishes of Buchanan and Callender, pertaining to the lairds of Buchanan, but are now wholly decayed in those parts. The few of that name now extant, reside in Argyllshire, but maintain no correspondence with the name of Buchanan. They obtained their surname, from some one of their ancestors being a harper, and were thence termed MacChruiters, or Harpersons.

The MacGreusichs are so denominated, from one of their ancestors being a cordiner, termed in Irish, Greusich, whence his posterity were thereafter termed Macgreusichs, or Cordiner-sons. These are of the same origin with the Macandeoirs; that Buchanan, who went to Argyllshire with the laird of Ardkinglass's lady, being ancestor to both septs. These M'Greusichs, reside in Gaunnans, upon the west side of Lochlong, and betwixt that and Lochgoyle in Ardkinglass's lands, being, as their friends the M'Andeoirs, dependants on that gentleman. There is also a small number residing upon Lochgoyle-side, termed M'Nuyers of Evan Glass, or Gray Hugh's race, of the same origin with the M'Greusichs, and own themselves Buchanans. Those already mentioned, are all the cadets of other denominations, directly or immediately descended off the family of Buchanan.

As for the M'Watties, M'Aldonichs, and M'Robs, being all those of other denominations descended off the family of Lenny, I made mention of them in the account of that family. Those cadets of other denominations, descended off the

family of Drumikill, are the Risks, so named from their ancestor's being born upon the Risks of Drymen. These mostly reside in the parishes of Drymen, Balfron and Killearn, and some few of them in the Straith of Monteath. The second cadets of this kind are the M'Kinlays, so named from a son of Drumikill, called Finlay; those lately in Blairnyle, and about Bellach, are of this sort, as also those in Benachra, and about the Water of Finn, in Luss parish. The M'Kinlays in some other parts of these parishes, are M'Pharlans. The third of these cadets was ancestor of the M'Tomases, so named from one Thomas of Drumikill's family. It is also pretended, that the Yuilles are descended of a son of Drumikill's, born upon Yuilday. This pretension is adhered to by some of the name of Yuille, by others not.

A

BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF THE

MARTIAL ACHEIVEMENTS

OF THE

FAMILY OF BUCHANAN,

AND

OTHERS OF THAT NAME IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF THEIR PRINCE AND COUNTRY, AND UPON OTHER OCCASIONS.

THE nature of public history not permitting notice to be taken of all the gallant actions of private men, many very singular achievements of persons bearing the name of Buchanan, have by that means been passed over in silence, so as to be capable of being vouched no otherways than by private memoirs, or traditional accounts. However, we find from these, that many of the name of Buchanan have not been wanting to signalize themselves, in as eminent a manner as any of their station. For not

to mention the vigorous efforts and constancy of ANSELAN, progenitor of that surname, in the quarrel and service of the Scotish king and nation against the Danes, the inveterate enemies of both, which was the cause of his obtaining that first and splendid part of the armorial bearing of Buchanan; our historians also celebrate the signal adherence of SIR MAURICE, one of his successors, to the interest of his country, during a greater part of the wars managed after the death of king Alexander, a clear evidence of which, (as already hinted,) is his not having signed the ragman-roll, violently imposed by king Edward the first of England, upon most of any considerable account throughout the kingdom, though this gentleman at the time was honoured with knighthood, and upon divers accounts, much preferable to a great many, whose names are found at that bond of allegiance to the tyrannical king, who allowed none to refuse it, but such as adventured so to do at their utmost hazard. Nor was this gentleman's successor of the same name of less bravery and attachment to the welfare and honour of his native country, having accompanied his patron, Malcolm, earl of Lennox, in all the dangerous adventures the earl was concerned in, during the reign of king Robert I., and the minority of his son, king David II.

The next who signalized himself for the honour of his country, was SIR ALEXANDER, eldest son to John, second of that name, laird of Buchanan, who procured the addition after-mentioned, to the armorial bearing of Buchanan. The circumstances

of the adventure in which this gentleman was concerned, and the action by which he signalized himself, being briefly thus:

Charles, the first of that name, king of France, becoming frantic, and his queen, with the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, making up a party against Charles the dauphin, to whom of right the government of the kingdom did belong, and who was therefore the more favoured and supported by his countrymen; this created such jealousy in the adverse party, as put them upon all imaginable methods of supporting their own interest; in order whereto, they had recourse to Henry the fifth of England, an aspiring young king, who had not quite lost thoughts of the old pretensions of king Edward III., his great grandfather, to that kingdom. He therefore readily accepted of the queen's invitation not to invade, but to accept in a manner of the kingdom of France, of which the dauphin, by her influence, was disinherited by his father. Upon the view of these advantages, king Henry went to France with a good army, and having defeated the dauphin's army at Agincourt, and afterwards proceeded to Paris, where he married the French king's daughter, he was constituted not only regent of France, during the king's indisposition, but also his successor in the kingdom. Thus having ordered matters in France to his satisfaction, he returned in triumph to England, leaving his brother, Thomas, duke of Clarence, his viee-gerent and general of the English army. The dauphin in this exigency sent ambassadors to Scotland, in the year 1419, being

the last year but one of the regency of Robert, duke of Albany, imploring aid against the English. In compliance with this request, the regent in the beginning of the year 1420, sent over a supply of seven thousand volunteers, under command of John, earl of Buchan, his own son, and Archibald, earl of Wigtoun, eldest son to the earl of Douglas. These forces arriving in France, some few days before Easter, (which festival was then, and is yet very religiously, if not superstitiously, observed among the Romanists,) upon which account, there was a cessation of arms agreed upon for some days betwixt the Scots and English: in confidence whereof the former remained in much security: of this the duke of Clarence being informed by one Fregosa, an Italian, who deserted from the Scotish army, he upon the intelligence, resolved, notwithstanding of the cessation, to take his advantage of the Scots, fearing more harm from the experienced valour of that small number, than most of the French forces besides. So keeping his design secret, upon Easter Sabbath he ordered all his horsemen to arm, judging these sufficient for the enterprize, and by a hasty march arrived in a few hours at the Scots quarters, in a little town in the province of Anjou, called Bauge, near which was a river traversed with a stone bridge, and guarded by a party of French, who upon Clarence's arrival, deserted the post. Upon this alarm, Hugh Kennedy, a Scotish captain, with thirty archers advanced to the bridge, and for some time defended the same, 'till Clarence ordered two hundred of his curassiers to dismount,

and with push of spear, beat Kennedy and his small party, destitute of defensive armour, from their post. But while this was a-doing, the earl of Buchan, with two hundred Scotish horsemen, arrived at the bridge, which Clarence observing, left the passage clear to the Scots, and drew up his men in order of battle. The Scotish general, as soon as he got his men together, advanced toward the enemy, and charged them with very great bravery, which was received by the English with no less resolution, being superior both in number and experience. So that after a sharp dispute, the Scots were scarce able to maintain their ground; till in the heat of the action, Sir Alexander Buchanan meeting the duke of Clarence, who was very conspicuous upon account of a coronet beset with a great many jewels affixed to his helmet, with his couched spear with the utmost vigour made toward him; the duke in the same posture met his antagonist, upon whose breast-plate the duke's spear slanting, Buchanan pierced at once through his left eye and brain, whereupon he instantly fell from his horse. Buchanan in the mean time getting hold of the coronet, and putting the same upon the point of his spear, cried to his countrymen to take courage, for that there was a token he had killed the English general, which the English noticing, made no further resistance, but committed their safety to their horses' heels, there being killed of them, besides Clarence, twenty-six officers, and other persons of quality, and near three thousand soldiers, besides two thousand taken prisoners, with

very little loss to the Scots, there being none of account killed upon their side.

This victory, as it gave a great check to the affairs of the English, did no less erect the drooping circumstances of the French, of which the dauphin was so sensible, that he created the earl of Buchan his master of horse, and Wigtoun, high constable of France, and rewarded all the other persons of distinction according to their merits, particularly Buchanan, whom he bountifully rewarded, and for preservation of his heroic achievement, added to his former bearing, a second tressure round the field, flower'd and counterflowered, with flower-de-luces of the second, and in a crest, a hand coupee, holding a duke's coronet, with two laurel branches wreathed round the same; which addition was retained by the family of Buchanan in all time thereafter.

Mr. George Buchanan, who seems never to have been careful in advancing the honour of his name, asserts that the common report was, that Clarence was first wounded by Sir John Swinton, and afterwards beat from his horse by the earl of Buchan. But the assertion of the book Pluscarden, and the additional arms, being so plain a monument of that action, clear the truth thereof, as above related, beyond all manner of controversy. Buchanan is reported to have sold the coronet to Stewart of Darnly, for one thousand angels of gold, and Darnly to have pawned the same to Sir Robert Houston, for five thousand angels. This gallant gentleman, with a great many more of his countrymen, was killed by

the English, through the treachery, desertion, or cowardice of the French, in conjunction with them at the battle of Vernoile, in the year 1424.

The next of that family who lost his life in the service of his prince, was PATRICK, second of that name, laird of Buchanan, who, with most of his name was with king James IV. at the battle of Flowdon, in which Buchanan himself, John, laird of Lenny, and divers others of the name, were killed in the year 1513. Though our public histories give no account of this gentleman's death, at that occasion, nor of a great many others of quality, who lost their lives in that fatal engagement, nevertheless, there are accounts to be found of the same in most of the families, whose principal men were lost at that juncture.

GEORGE, laird of Buchanan, with his name and dependants, was at the battle of Pinkie in queen Mary's minority, in which Buchanan of Arnpryor, and divers others of the name lost their lives. The same George was also at the battle of Langside, in which he behaved very honourably; and no less so did GEORGE, third of that name, laird of Buchanan, father to the late laird, who being colonel of Stirlingshire regiment, during the whole of the civil wars in the reign of king Charles I., was with his regiment (most of the officers, and a good many of the soldiers thereof, being of his own name,) at the battle of Dunbar, as also at the fatal conflict of Ennerkeithing; at the last of which, Buchanan, with Sir John Brown, colonel of Mid-Lothian regiment, with their two regiments, stopped the pas-

sage of the English army over Forth for some days, and would have continued so to do till relief had come from the king's grand army, then encamped at Stirling, had not major general Holborn, commander in chief of that party of the Scottish forces, (biassed as was thought with English gold) commanded these brave gentlemen to abandon their post, and allow the English free passage, which when effected, the general drew on these two regiments with that of brave Sir Hector M'Lean, mostly composed of his own name, to an engagement with the best part of the English army; Holborn himelf, with his regiment of horse, wheeling off without firing one shot, and leaving these three regiments of foot to the mercy, or rather merciless rage of the enemy, they after a most valiant resistance, even much greater than could be expected from their number, were in the end overpowered, and mostly cut to pieces. The laird of M'Lean, with most of any account of his name, was killed, as also a vast number of the name of Buchanan, the laird himself, with Sir John Brown, and some few other officers being made prisoners, in which condition Buchanan continued unreleased till his death, in the year 1651.

It may be upon good grounds presumed, that divers others of the lairds of Buchanan were concerned in a great many other battles, and other grand transactions managed in this nation, though a particular account of these matters cannot be so easily obtained. However, the above mentioned instances, of which there are accounts, are sufficient

testimonies of these gentlemen's willingness upon all occasions, to evidence their duty in behalf and service of their prince and country.

As the lairds of Buchanan were ordinarily among the first who appeared in the public service of their country, so they were frequently obliged, according to the too general custom of the more ancient times, to maintain some private quarrels with some neighbouring names, and being for the most part unjustly provoked, came very rarely off with disadvantage.

The first of these private quarrels that is reported to have been, was with the Arrals, then a numerous name in the Lennox, and whose perverse and insolent disposition was very singular, insomuch, that upon report of any quarrel, or slaughter in these parts, in which that name resided, those not present, upon hearing thereof ordinarily asked, who, besides the Arrals? judging, whoever were seconds, the Arrals behoved to be first in any such adventure. Nevertheless, in that contest already glanced at betwixt the Buchanans, and that name, the same was brought so low, that there scarce remained thereafter the least memory of it.

Their next controversy is reported to be with the Galbraiths, in the reign of king James II., being the most numerous and potent name of the Lennox in that age. The reason of this contest, is said to be the laird of Buchanan's marrying a gentlewoman of the name of Galbraith, heiress of Killearn, Bamoir and Auchinreoch. The Galbraiths grudging very much that so good an estate

should be carried off by a stranger, and in regard they could not justly withhold those lands, they resolved to take the advantage of these times, which, being very turbulent, favoured such projects, to detain them from Buchanan by violence. This began the quarrel, which continued for sometime with mutual slaughter, and did in the end terminate not only in the loss of what the Galbraiths so much struggled for, but also of divers of themselves in the action; the last of them being Galbraith of Benachra and Benraes, who resided in a little castle, situated in a small island of Lochlomond, called yet the Galbraith's isle, whence he committed a great many hostilities upon most of the neighbouring gentlemen: and if at any time deprived of his boat, he would swim with his clothes and arms tyed betwixt his shoulders, and in that manner take a boat from the next adjacent shore, and carry the same into his isle. Of this practice Buchanan being informed, caused plant an ambush in the next isle to Galbraith's, which intercepted him while in his swimming posture, and despatched him, to the no small satisfaction of his neighbours.

There were divers other hostilities carried on betwixt that of Buchanan and some other neighbouring families, not necessary here to be mentioned; as there were also betwixt the family of Lenny and two several neighbouring clans, at two different junctures; betwixt the family of Drumikill, with the like number of clans; and also betwixt Carbeth and a certain clan in their neighbour-

hood. In all which contests, though after a great deal of bloodshed, those families came off with the same honour and advantage that the principal family were wont to have in their encounters.

The name of Buchanan was so numerous in heritors, and the castle of Buchanan so centrally placed in respect of the interests and residences of these heritors, that the laird of Buchanan could, in a summer's day, call fifty heritors of his own name to his house, upon any occasion, and all of them might with conveniency return to their respective residences against night, the furthest of them not being above ten miles from Buchanan.

The name of Buchanan, since the principal family became extinct, consists of, or is classed into four classes, or families; the first of these, being a certain number of heritors, and their dependants, who are immediately descended off the family of Buchanan, or the latest cadets thereof, who, though they keep entire friendship with, yet have no dependance upon, any other family of the name. The principal person of these is Buchanan of Auchmar, there being of this class ten heritors. The next is the family of Drumikill, the principal person or head of which is Buchanan of Craigievairn, there being of this family seventeen heritors. The third is Buchanan of Lenny, of which family, himself included, there are ten heritors. The fourth is the family of Carbeth, of which, Carbeth himself included, there are fourteen heri-

tors. The heritors of the MacAuselans, MacMillans, MacColmans, and Spittels, all immediately descended off that of Buchanan, being added to the first class, makes the same the most considerable of the four.

A

BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF

SOME LEARNED MEN

OF THE

NAME OF BUCHANAN.

THERE have been several learned men of the name of Buchanan, besides Mr. George, of whom already, particularly

Mr. Thomas Buchanan of Ibert, nephew to Mr. George, upon whose demission the said Mr. Thomas succeeded in the office of lord privy-seal: before which he was a preacher, and a learned and eminent divine: being a great promoter of the Reformation, he was consulted in all points any ways difficult that occurred in those times; upon which account he is very often mentioned in the Histories of Knox and Calderwood.

There was another Mr. Thomas Buchanan, son to Thomas, second of that name, young laird of Drumikill. He was minister of Syres in Fife, in the reign of king James VI., and was of the greatest learning and esteem of any of his time.

MR. ROBERT BUCHANAN, provost of the collegiate church of Kirkheugh in St. Andrews, in the beginning of the reign of king James VI., was very famous for philosophy and theology, being, for any thing I can find, of the old family of Arnpryor.

MR. DAVID BUCHANAN, second son of William Buchanan of Arnpryor, was a gentleman of great learning: he flourished in the latter part of the reign of king James VI., and beginning of the reign of king Charles I. He wrote a large Natural History, which was not completed at the author's death, and therefore never printed, to the great loss of the learned and curious. He wrote also a large Etymologicon of all the Shires, Cities, Rivers and Mountains in Scotland, which was printed, though not in many hands; from which I find Sir Robert Sibbald quotes some passages in his History of the Shires of Stirling and Fife.

FINIS.

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